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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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1 March 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

NEED FOR 'VIGILANCE' IN PROTECTING SOCIALIST PROPERTY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Sami Gega: "A Wider Concept for Vigilance"]

[Text] Vigilance is explained by dictionaries as a trait of people's political education, which is expressed in the alertness to uncover any attempt by domestic and foreign enemies to attack our socialist motherland and our victories. The above explanation, of course, entails the fundamental meaning of vigilance, which especially in our conditions of savage bourgeois-revisionist encirclement, requires a determination on the part of every communist and citizen to protect the freedom and the achievements of our revolution. But, the party and Comrade Enver instruct us to adopt a wider concept of vigilance, which also implies an active stand toward social property. They also instruct us that the meaning of this moral and political trait of our socialist society is dynamic, always changing and expanding.

The concept of vigilance has been expanded by the great changes that have occurred in our economic, social, and political life. Our political order, by instituting the social ownership of the means of production, educates and creates a new and a more complete concept of vigilance. It is no longer divided into two parts as in the previous society, in a patriotic vigilance, which our people has never lacked, and in a vigilance to protect a parcel of land, a house, and private property. It is by no accident that any change in the system of ownership, any expansion of the socialization of social property, has also caused changes in the concept of revolutionary vigilance. For example, following the collectivization of sheep and goats in the Librazhd district, the number of injuries and abuses declined by four times. This phenomena, which is common in other districts, too, is not caused alone by the simple fact that the cooperative member no longer has the livestock in his court. This is the external factor. This voluntary action by all the cooperative members of our country has not passed without leaving traces on their concepts about the interests, the society, and our socialist motherland. The revolutionary vigilance of our people is not only a simple continuation of the centuries long experience of our people, an experience that has taught it to always guard its country. It is not only a vigilance for the protection of the border, not only for the protection of socialist property, but also for the morality and ideology of the society and for the purity of socialist consciousness.

To fulfill all the requirements of vigilance in its wider meaning, it is necessary that our people maintain an active stand in the places of their work as well as outside, in the street, in public places, in the society, and in the family. But, sometimes a very narrow interpretation is given to the workers' active stand -- only the judgement and assesment of developments, tendencies, and expressions during work. There are people who consider themselves not responsible or under moral and civic obligation to take an active stand considering developments outside the place of work, which are not directly linked with their duties. In the port of Vlore, the following conversation took place some time ago between a guard official and a group of people:

The Guard official: Documents, comrade.

Traveler: Here they are; I am a fisherman.

A third person (addressing the guard): You only checked the documents?

The guard official: That is my job.

Another person: But you saw that the traveler came back from the sea with his briefcase full. You even saw what was in it. And in the sea there are neither stores nor warehouses. You are also aware that the port authority often complains about the damage and abuse of products gathered here for trade. Why don't you intervene, since you are in charge of the guards?

Vigilance is a civic duty for all people, at their work place as well as outside. It is not a responsibility given by the position one holds, but a conscious responsibility before the society. The guard official, for example, can brag as long as he wants to, that he has been vigilant, that he has not allowed any violations and this is true, but the "violation" is present. He is present in the form of an "abuser," with manifestations which are contrary to our social and moral norms. Nevertheless, often discussions are held about such violations, because their correction and elimination are not assessed as part of the guard's duty, let alone his responsibility as a citizen. As long as there are complaints of damages at the port, no one has the right to claim that he has been vigilant.

Vigilance means social and state control not only of the "suspect," but also control of the people's concepts, thoughts, and actions. Such control is not the same as eavesdropping, but a reflection of social assistance and cooperation. Depending on the type of work, this control can be financial, scientific, etc. When you allow your coworker, because of negative influences, to support the construction of a project with defaults, which can become evident later, you have not only made a scientific mistake, but you have also maintained silence, weakened your vigilance and showed lack of understanding. When you give an order -- as part of your duty -- that a certain financial action be completed or not, without knowing its profitability or how it will be used, you have not maintained a sense of vigilance.

Our people are the protectors of the legal order and social norms. In the first place, our citizens themselves carry out the obligations derived from this responsibility, and then expect their comrades, relatives and all the members of the society also to carry them out. But these obligations cannot be carried out by indifferent and liberal people. The agricultural cooperative in Lezhe was one of the collectives that best fulfilled its tasks last year, but there were damages and abuses of products which "no one saw," or more correctly, they took place before "blind" people. Why? Because apparently the concept of vigilance was understood in a narrow sense, as a weapon directed against the class enemy, and it was not understood that our people make mistakes, which surely must be corrected with other forms, through the vigilance of a comrade, organization, and the collective.

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## BULGARIA

### OVERWHELMING INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN POP MUSIC CAUSES CONCERN

Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian 26 Jan 84 pp 1,6

[Interview with Academician Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Spiritual Values: "Mainstay of the Bulgarian Spirit"]

[Text] The talk with Academician Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council and chairman of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Spiritual Values was scheduled to take place a long time ago. The topic was the meeting which took place at the end of April 1983. A number of problems related to our music and song circles in our country were discussed at that time.

Later on other repeated, varied and not always pleasant debates on the same topic were held. The press published a number of responses by citizens, journalists and public figures in support of the recommendations adopted by the permanent commission.

Naturally the situation has changed over the past few months, but no decisive change has taken place.

The inventive supporters of the "modern style in music" continue to roam the country and spread the poison of foreign influences.

Equipment continues to thunder in tens of thousands of places of entertainment visited by millions of citizens, rudely infringing on the time for natural human contacts which are so greatly necessary. No better in this respect are some television and radio transmissions and musical programs in the transportation services, rest homes, discos and even schools.

Is our public unable to develop an atmosphere of intolerance toward this phenomenon? Are we going to take a position of conciliation and postponed objections in order to avoid being accused of regression and lack of taste and culture?

Concern for a pure Bulgarian musical environment is frequently expressed in our readers' letters and in writers' articles, including some in LITERATUREN FRONT.



Our conversation with Comrade Georgi Dzhangarov began with this concern:

The opening of the National Assembly Permanent Commission for Spiritual Values was attended by many citizens. Journalists were present. The entire country is worried by the muddy stream of musical fashions which is flooding it, washing away the true values of music, classical, modern, serious, entertaining, instrumental and vocal.

Concerned with the musical culture of our people, and implementing the party's resolutions and instructions, the people's regime is allocating substantial funds to assist the development of musical activities in the country and to reward the efforts and creativity in that area.

The Permanent Commission for Spiritual Values must check on the use made of the funds voted by the National Assembly, the implementation of existing stipulations and orders. Whether music and songs are developing for the benefit of the people, whether they have a beneficial effect on the youth and whether they shape the people in accordance with communist ideals.

[Question] This is not the first time that the Permanent Commission has been dealing with this question.

[Answer] We raised this question while Lyudmila Zhivkova was still alive, and with her participation. Already then some errors and irregularities were disclosed, indicating that we could be facing rather sad consequences in the not too distant future. That is why we recommended a number of steps aimed at improving the situation.

The most important thing was to put an end to underestimating the music and songs environment, essentially the one which depends on variety and pop music. The contemporary rhythm of life has its own requirements. We must take this into consideration without, however, yielding to the tremendous pressure of bad and sometimes hostile influences from the outside, but by creating our own musical values, consistent with our concepts and moods as builders of a new world.

It must be clear to all that in this area any omission, any deviation, any carelessness assumes incredible dimensions, multiplies and could cause irreparable harm. Today technical communication facilities are so advanced and powerful that even a pop music group or even a single pop singer, guided by thoughtless or impure motivations, could within a short time poison the intonation climate of the entire country.

You will agree that such cases exist in the area of music and songs and that sometimes we unwittingly listen to works of music of doubtful value or frequently some which are wild, tasteless and talentless and, furthermore, we become used to them, we put up with them and we applaud, unwilling to look simplistic or backward.

[Question] It turns out that the problems are numerous and difficult.

[Answer] Yes. However, during the investigation conducted by the people's representatives and in the discussions we stuck to concepts tested by reality. They are contained in the resolutions of the 12th party congress and, before the congress, the Theses on Work With the Youth, Comrade Todor Zhivkov's 1978 letter to the Komsomol Central Committee and several resolutions of the party's Central Committee Secretariat.

Generally speaking, a proper ideological and aesthetic criterion has long existed in our country on such matters, and we have frequently insisted on raising the level of musical standards and using music and songs for the spiritual enrichment and advancement of man and for a creative rather than administrative rebuff to corrupting music and song influences.

We have always considered music, in all of its varieties and branches, one of the most important areas in the patriotic, international and class-party education and a source of love for the people and our socialist homeland, a value which asserts the loftiest virtues, links us with life and inspires us with faith in life.

The problems of music and songs are indeed complex and tangled, as you say. They are complex because they involve personal preferences and tastes. However, they are not so complex as not to be understood, or so entangled as not to be resolved. Therefore, there is no reason to fear the verbal fog used by some specialists in concealing their views.

[Question] Is there a difference between the concept of musical intonation and a music-song environment?

[Answer] There is, naturally, and it is obvious. We include in the concept of a music and song environment not only the musical intonation, melody and rhythm but lyrics as well. This concept applies to anything which shapes and develops our taste, need for music, attitude toward it and ability to perceive and understand it.

More specifically, it applies to any melody heard on the air in our country, on the radio and the television, in the concert halls and the theater stage, in records, tape and video recordings.

It also applies to the places where music is performed and heard: public catering and entertainment institutions, hostels, barracks, transportation facilities, playgrounds, summer resorts, and so on, and even around the hearth, as we gather for relaxation and entertainment.

[Question] Did the people's representatives reach any conclusion on the overall state of the music and song environment?

[Answer] We did not set ourselves this task, nor am I competent to answer this question. According to our information, however, I could say that as a whole our music and song environment is developing well, or at least that it is steadily improving.

Let us add to this the musical picture prevailing in various establishments and cultural centers in trade, services, tourism, transportation, resorts, administrations, and elsewhere. We are dealing with millions and millions of influences every day, every hour and every minute, influences which affect our hearing and, from it, our subconscious and our conscious.

Music touches even the finest strings of the soul. Perhaps among all forms of art it has the greatest claim to exerting a direct influence on and to touch us without having to understand it, to accumulate it within ourselves, and to lift us to the heights of human emotions.

This particularly applies to modern pop music and songs. That is why we do not reject but seek and expect it. But what happens? Sometimes, going to a restaurant or travelling by bus Bulgarians ask themselves where it is they are, are they in Bulgaria or in some foreign country? They get dizzy with unfamiliar melodies and their ears pop from unbearable sound waves.

[Question] Whenever we have wanted to understand why is so much foreign pop music being played, meaning Western music, the answer has been that there are not enough Bulgarian titles. In our country, we are told, some 300 songs are composed annually, compared to 2,000 in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and 8,000 in neighboring Greece. Do you accept this fact as legitimate?

[Answer] I too used the same figures in my statement to the Permanent Commission, but then I started thinking and told myself that I must have been misled. Is it possible to compose thousands of songs every year even in a musically inclined country? How many songs could Mikis Theodorakis compose, five, ten, or several dozen together with other Greek composers? Eight thousand songs need 1,000 composers.

Clearly this should include youth amateur music creativity. If such is the case, our youth is no less productive. But putting all of this together, several hundred songs could be singled out for a national audience, and this should be sufficient. A good song could be played on the radio 150-160 times annually, and as many times on the television, and do you realize the outcome? Then come the concerts, cassette and gramophone records, and so on, endlessly.

[Question] At the session of the Permanent Commission you related pop music to the ideological front....

[Answer] Was I wrong? The air has long become an arena which battles are being fought for the minds and hearts of the people. There is a struggle between the reactionary and the progressive in world culture, between humanism and barbarism and between hope and despair, and in this line our ideological enemies obey no rules.

What is the United States doing? It strung powerful radio stations around the world with which to attack the countries of real socialism and propagandize the so-called American way of life. I say so-called, for the life of the ordinary American, the worker, farmer, engineer, writer or scientist should not be confused with that of the rotten and aggressive social and political strata which are aspiring for world domination.

The United States created a music industry of tremendous scope, variety and total purpose, harnessing advanced achievements of scientific and technical progress and adopting programs for its advance. It is penetrating everywhere and is already undermining the music and song environment of even its own allies in Europe.

As we know, recently Jack Lang, the French minister of culture, used the term cultural imperialism in assessing the cultural policy of the American administration. This view is supported by statesmen, public personalities, writers, men of arts and people of most different political persuasions. These, however, are the initial symptoms of a rebellion. Western Europe will never allow the United States to impose upon it its spiritual domination.

The wedge of this cultural imperialism is aimed in all directions, but above all at the youth of the socialist countries. Let us take Bulgaria. The task regarding us is to destroy the program of aesthetic education and pop music has been assigned a special role of encrustation in our souls, instilling in the growing generations false ideas about life, weakening the will, confusing the mind and, in the final account, shaping a morality and behavior contrary to the communist ideal. Our youth will withstand this pressure. I believe and am convinced of this. However, this does not give us the right to shut our eyes and underestimate the dangers. The human soul is not armor-plated, it has its weak points and can yield to insinuations and temptations. We are human and sinful, and when it is a question of young and still weak souls our responsibility becomes far greater.

In addition to our obligation to repel adverse phenomena coming from the West we should not forget our own vocation. As the builders of a new world we must create new art values, music in our case, which would be attractive not only to us but to the youth in other countries, to inspire them to follow our way of peace and justice, to encourage them in their aspirations to lead a better, more meaningful life on earth.

Naturally, not all Western pop music is unacceptable to us. The West consists of different nations with different fates, cultures, traditions and classes and, consequently, different ideological and aesthetic trends and pop music. It has honest and talented creative workers. We know, accept and love them, and may even learn from some of them. I hasten, however, to add two considerations:

The first is that progressive creativity in pop music is used for purposes of political manipulation. What is the thinking of a specialist in anticommunism? Is it a progressive song, beautiful, pleasing to the ear? Multiply it, let it roam the world, let it spread the name of the United States, the mark of the United States and the example of the United States. The United States gains from this.

What is the case with some broadcasts in our country? Five minutes are spent on exposing Reagan's speech on deploying cruise missiles in Western Europe, and immediately after that we hear excellent American music. The impressions clash and cancel each other. Nevertheless, something remains, the pleasant sound, the melody which cannot be erased. The American masters of

No one can deny our achievements in symphonic or chamber music, operatic and choral art, performing skills, music for children and many accomplishments in the areas of mass and variety music, including pop.

We should discuss separately local amateur musical activities and representative groups, which are not only earning prizes in international reviews and competitions but sometimes even setting world standards for performance, particularly in the areas of folk melodies and rhythms.

We are dissatisfied with the number of school hours assigned to singing, and rightfully so, although it cannot be denied that music education and upbringing in our country is experiencing a revival. An increasing number of positive changes are also taking place in the structure and quality of music broadcasts on television and radio, and the repertory of Balkanton, other organizations and the music activities institute.

Naturally, all of this determines the aspect of the music and song environment. Thanks to this, today musically Bulgaria is ahead of many European countries with high music standards and fame. It is even possible that in the near future Bulgaria may become one of the centers of musical life on the continent.

In speaking of the genres in which we are or could be successful, allow me to emphasize that the talent, innovativeness, development and performances based on the feelings of the Bulgarian today are increasingly making their way, finding defenders, supporters and admirers everywhere.

[Question] Yes, we have sufficient resources of our own not to resort to incidental works of music from abroad.

[Answer] We should never resort to incidental works of music, for they cause more harm than good in our ideological-aesthetic work.

[Question] We have in mind what is happening with pop music in our country. You must be familiar with the percentage of the time allocated for pop music which Bulgarian television and radio assign to Bulgarian pop music.

[Answer] Less than one third. This is unheard of compared to the music programs of other countries. It turns out that Bulgaria is the only country in the world where domestic transmitters broadcast so much foreign pop music.

By international standards national pop music should account for more than one half of the time allocated to that genre. In some countries foreign pop music is allowed as an exception, just enough to reflect world trends. Why is this so? Because foreign pop music raises foreigners.

What has made music editors and compilers of music programs in our country reduce the time allocated to Bulgarian pop music to less than one-third of the overall amount of time allotted to pop music would be hard to explain. I, for one, cannot.

psychological indoctrination of public opinion are aware of these fine points of the craft.

The second is that in the spirit of Helsinki the exchange of spiritual values among countries should be conducted on an equivalent basis. It is not possible for one country to open its doors while the other keeps its own locked. That is the reason for which cultural agreements are concluded. For example, we agree in advance on how many Soviet pop music groups will visit our country and how many of ours will visit the Soviet Union. This involves money and each side assumes the cost.

Does anyone know if Bulgarian pop music and songs are performed on U.S. television? Meanwhile, American music is heard on our television almost incessantly. But do you know that one minute time on television costs about 2,000 leva? You can calculate how much money is spent on behalf of our people for the dissemination of American pop music in our country. To the best of my knowledge, the United States has not spent even a single dollar for broadcasting Bulgarian pop music. What do you think, are we richer than the United States?

Naturally, it is not a question of only money but, above all, of the servility and veneration on the part of some of our music workers of American pop music, the myths which are created, the influences which are exerted on our national spirit and the incessant efforts to replace the socialist with the American way of life.

Particularly repulsive and inimical to us are aspects of Western, American above all, pop music, aspects which preach bourgeois immorality and anarchy, which fan hatred of man, which praise violence and cruelty, trigger hysteria and despair, disseminate the disease of crime and the breath of swamps and raise into a cult sexual mania, pornography, insanity and scorn for all moral and aesthetic values. All of this is frequently embodied in rhythms, melodies, exclamations, shrieks and roars of animals escaped from the jungle. Look at some of the translations of lyrics from the English, which would be embarrassing to voice even in the lowest brothels in the West but which, through some mysterious channels are being disseminated among our youth.

[Question] Unfortunately, people are found to do such "work."

[Answer] Yes. There has been a proliferation of such black groups, owners of systems and speculators. Hundreds of them are roaming the country selling videocassettes, have studios in which materials forbidden by the law are duplicated, offer their services to clubs and discotheques and make huge amounts of money from such criminal activities.

[Question] You mentioned discotheques. How do you imagine their development?

[Answer] They have rapidly expanded as a relatively new form of entertainment and recreation and today they number in the hundreds, not counting thousands of them in private homes and apartments. While we were pondering as to whether or not to support them, speculators and other filth were able to set

themselves up. However, following the intervention of the Dimitrov Komsomol, with the support of the public, the situation is continuing to improve.

Today the orderly discotheques are becoming places not only for dances and entertainment but also for musical culture with concerts, meetings with composers and performers, discussions on music genres and centers for amateur performances. The young people themselves play music and sing and have a good time and by themselves reject the atmosphere of banging and bumping which was previously forced on them by famous disk jockeys, which had nothing in common with our nature.

[Question] In many places, however, at least in commercial and Balkanturist establishments, the question of sound pollution remains unsolved. Psychology frequently mentions the "sensory threshold." Citizens are frequently attacked by decibels which exceed the sound of a supersonic jet taking off. The consequences are sometimes truly irreparable.

[Answer] I agree.

[Question] Let us consider another problem we already mentioned: two thirds of all pop music heard on the radio and television are not ours. Their percentage is even higher in establishments. Such music is sometimes sung by foreigners in a foreign language....

[Answer] On the Black Sea coast one of our singers managed to sing only one Bulgarian out of 100 pop songs. Some patriotism !

[Question] Many of our singers sing in foreign languages.

[Answer] This is horrible, horrible! I get confused and cannot explain it. For whom are such people singing? Would they like to turn us into foreigners. It is horrible to think that, dancing under the glare of spotlights, smiling broadly and standing on our native soil such people are trampling on its soul. Where did they come from, who are they, and who raised them?

As a nation we resolved the problem of the language in which to sing 11 centuries ago. We rejected the language of Byzantium and that of Rome in order to communicate among us in Bulgarian, to pray God in Bulgarian. We did not forfeit our language during the most terrible foreign domination. Are we to retreat now, when we are in the front line of progressive mankind?

Some may consider this an artistic whim. To some this may be so, thoughtless games and even features of culture, for people do go to foreign countries, learn a few things, and why not show them off? This may seem to be the case for some but not for us, for we have not gone to a foreign-language high school, we have our own language and we want to hear and sing our own songs.

Incidentally, once I went to a bar with Lord Snow, the noted British novelist and wonderful friend of our country. A singer noticed his presence and in order to please him kept straining her vocal chords to the breaking point. After she had finished, Snow said to me, I thought that your language was

Slavic, but it sounds like English. But she sang in English, I said. Is that so? Snow said, surprised. Excuse me, I could not understand it!

[Question] The excuse given by some pop artists who sing in foreign languages is that the establishments are visited by many foreigners.

[Answer] Let us hope they are, but what do you think, are the foreigners stupid, don't they know where they are and could we assume that they would be more interested in listening in Bulgaria to their own songs rather than Bulgarian songs, Bulgarian speech, Bulgarian melodies and rhythms?

[Question] This also involves the question of familiarity with the literary Bulgarian language by pop singers.

[Answer] I doubt that they are familiar with it. Let us not consider the lyrics of a song, although a good artist should show better taste in choosing his lyrics, let us consider the way he sings, whether the intonation is literary, and the diction. Words are mispronounced by people with a high school diploma.

In my opinion, artists who lack literary diction should not be allowed on the stage and given a microphone, regardless of the quality of their voice, for they distort and pollute our language. I may be wrong, but an artist should not do so. He is being paid to teach me a literary diction, and should he fail to do so he should not be paid.

[Question] Pop song lyrics are an unsolved problem, what do you think?

[Answer] I think, first of all, that one should not be speaking of words. This makes me think of a shoe repair shop or perhaps of a sociological study. In life no one asks for the text but for the song, meaning both words and melody, for a song is a blend, a unity of the one with the other.

Let us not forget, however, that in the beginning was the word. The meaning of life is in the word and, unquestionably, the melody is born either with the word or from it. Can you imagine the purity, the perfection which must be reached with the word, the combination of words, before it can be sung?

Poetry, poetry is what the Bulgarian pop music needs, the poetry of true human emotions! And it is sad that our composers are not always able to discover it, and when they do they are not always able to feel and understand it, for which reason frequently when a tune occurs to them they turn to literary craftsmen who know how to make words fit the melody.

A melody can exist by itself, like poetry, something which is characteristic of the current state of pop music in our country, i.e., the pop song itself, with few exceptions, has still not shown up and it is the duty of our composers to turn to Bulgarian poetry which shines with its hundreds of poems which meet world standards.

We are fed up with tossing between the strings of electric guitars and drumsticks words such as love and yearning, quiet, sea or roads, or shouts and



cries such as hello my love, farewell my love, once again we are alone, alone in the dark night, rain keeps falling on your window and other such cliches and stupidities.

[Question] Can an original style be noted among our pop performers?

[Answer] I cannot say. If it is a question of characteristics I would point out some singers or groups which are inspired and talented and which are loved by our youth, but as to the others, perhaps the directors are to be blamed, the others hasten to show us their liking for a settled or careless life. They fear motion and games. They are always in boats, always among bushes and the wind is always blowing their hair.

[Question] How would you like them to be?

[Answer] I would like them to be modern Bulgarian young people, beautiful, in motion, with straight and light bodies, radiating high culture. The men should be men and the women, women, and they should not make us ache at the idea that the young generation is degenerating like old and sick nations.

We are not this kind of people, and there is no reason for us to look like Egyptian queens, models in luxury stores, bearded wanderers on seas and oceans or skylarks with plucked feathers, faint from singing. Everything, from clothing to behavior on stage, should instill in us respect of man and love of life.

[Question] Nevertheless, what are the reasons for the errors and shortcomings in music and songs, for their alienation from reality and the tasks of building socialism and communism in our country?

[Answer] First, the absence of unified management and control. For the time being, responsibility is being shifted from one department to another. Meanwhile, on the lower levels, things are going their own way. Under these circumstances, the Committee for Culture finds it difficult to exercise its rights and obligations.

Secondly, the lack of understanding of the unity of ideological and artistic criteria which must be applied everywhere in drafting music programs and selecting works of music and performers.

Thirdly, the lack of sufficiently developed material and technical facilities for recording and rerecording, regular procurements of props, musical instruments and systems, training schools and sites for rehearsals and competitions.

Fourthly, the lack of a proper economic approach which would grade performances, reward suitably talented works and performances and stop speculations with music, particularly with mass and pop songs.

[Question] You said that the aspect of the broad music and song environment should be Bulgarian. Could you explain what determines this aspect?

[Answer] If I have not been clear enough, let me repeat: it is determined by the works of Bulgarian poets and composers, the Bulgarian language, the Bulgarian intonation, the Bulgarian atmosphere of the sets, the Bulgarian singers and players and the Bulgarian style of performance.

[Question] Pop music and songs are a mass art. How many and what kind of people should be involved with this task?

[Answer] Albeit important, let us set aside the question of leading cadres. This is not the proper place to discuss it. Let us turn to musical activities in cities and villages. The public catering establishments employ a total of 1,069 orchestras with 5,221 performers; during the summer there are about 1,300 groups with nearly 7,000 performers.

This is an entire army which shapes the broad music and song environment in our country. Unfortunately, only 10.6 percent of performers in the trade have musical training, rather low at that, and 502 out of 1,462 performers have barely graduated from primary schools. Obviously, the task we have set ourselves cannot be accomplished quickly or easily.

[Question] Does that not emphasize even further the role of the radio and television?

[Answer] Unquestionably. Both now and in the future the shape of the music and song environment in our country and, respectively, the fate of pop music and songs will be determined by the radio and television in which we have the best trained and most conscientious and experienced cadres.

[Question] Do we have the necessary leverage for a quality upturn in the music and song environment and the development of pop music and songs?

[Answer] We could have a qualitative change and we must believe that we will be able to achieve it if we rely on the progressive traditions and musical values which our people developed throughout the centuries and while building socialism and if we implement profoundly and creatively the decisions of the party and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's advice and instructions.

In addition to the remarkable creativity of Bulgarian composers from antiquity to Dobri Chintulov and from Dobri Khristov to Petko Staynov, Pancho Vladigerov, Lyubomir Pipkov and our contemporary composers, we have the priceless treasury of the Bulgarian music folklore.

Studies have shown that Bulgaria is one of the few countries in the world with a still preserved live feeling and liking for folk music and songs. Folk music and songs are the principal means of strengthening the national aspect of the music and song environment and developing musical creativity in our country or, more specifically, pop music and songs.

[Question] Of late Bulgarian television has systematically allocated time for authentic folklore. Do you believe that such telecasts meet the modern taste and rhythm?

[Answer] No, I do not believe that this is the path to be followed. Toothless grandmothers and ancient old men, lined and dressed up, are performing songs and dances in a manner which I strongly doubt to be authentic. The old people are not to be blamed, but the folklore experts and directors are. Some people have no understanding in general of the complexity and seriousness of the problem. Sometimes they make us feel ashamed of ourselves and think that we are being mocked.

Again I think of what Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, that we should not be singing folk songs "the way they have been sung centuries ago." We have become an urban nation, and if we want to display an old value we should display it under urban conditions. Could it survive under such conditions, could a song, a dance be performed by city people? If it cannot, we can only regret it, but what more can we do? Do we have to dress up like Panayot Khitov or Sirma Voyvoda to sing a folk song?

The folklorists and directors should show a modern taste and modern standards. They must strictly take into consideration the contemporary spirit of our people and accurately determine if a song which meets the taste of a single village could satisfy an entire nation or, in other words, could it become a song of the nation and be sung by any Bulgarian citizen?

A nation can strengthen its unity and spirit if it can sing a few songs regardless of differences in the age, education and culture of its citizens. We have not a few but hundreds which we still remember. All we need is to be reminded of them, to hear them in their modern version with modern instruments and choirs.

[Question] Foreign songs may be sung in the establishments, but not Bulgarian ones. Where could the Bulgarians sing?

[Answer] This has to do with misunderstandings in the trade system and Balkanturist. Let us hope that they will soon find for us places where, surrounded by relatives and friends, we could sing our songs from the various parts of the Bulgarian musical soil.

[Question] The questions keep popping up, one after another, and not all of them can be discussed. What are your concluding words?

[Answer] As Bulgarians, we must not become unaccustomed to the sounds of our own soul. We must not alienate ourselves from the reality in which we live. We must not stifle the strings of our national character. We must not forget who we are, what we are, what kind of society we are building and what kind of life style we must have.

Let us hope that we shall soon see a broad music and song environment in our country, richer, more attractive, more talented, more clearly directed toward asserting the cause of socialism and communism in our country.

## BULGARIA

### UNPLEASANT ASPECTS OF DAILY LIFE DESCRIBED

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 18 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by Kiril Yanev: "The Gift of Kindness"]

[Text] Administratively, this case has been closed. The person guilty of aggressiveness and rudeness has been punished. He is not working where he used to anymore. It seems that justice and good manners have been restored. And the file can be stamped: "Case . . . concluded." But let us not be in a hurry. Generally speaking, what characterizes such cases is that their activity as a manifestation of unscrupulous behavior does not end with an outrage until a moral, as the saying goes, has been drawn from this story. Until public opinion learns and thinks about it. Until a lesson has been learned.

In fact, here is the story itself.

A citizen of Sofia (she asked that her name not be mentioned) called the television repair shop on 77 Tsar Boris Street, asking for a serviceman to repair her TV set. The technician arrived -- who knows why, but he was in a very bad mood, so he began to complain that no hour had been fixed for him to come, as if the customer could set the time anyway. And so that no one had any doubt about his mood, he screamed threateningly: "I've had enough of you! One woman wanted me to come right away, and another is upset that I'm late." The woman could not understand. She dared to ask, however, why he was talking to her like that. This latter-day Zeus, who was just about to remove the set's cover, hit it against a table, causing the woman to start crying with fear. "So you think I'm being rude! Is that it?" the technician said after all this. Obviously he had not noticed any rudeness thus far. The woman declared that she could not understand his nervousness and unprovoked arrogance. And right then, in order to prove to her that he did understand what rudeness was, he smashed the TV set on the floor and broke it. The noise was incredible. The woman ran out and called for help. Only now did the daredevil calm down a little bit. He said that the TV set had to be taken to the repair shop (of course it had to be taken -- after such treatment). However, before he left, he did not forget to ask for 1.50 leva, probably to pay for his kind visit. And he took off. Let us introduce him: his name is Simeon Stoilov Manolov.

After intervention on the part of ANTENI's editors, the case was investigated. The complaint was confirmed. The TV set was repaired -- no one knows at whose expense. The troublemaker was fired. We can feel relieved -- everything is back to normal.

The incident is one, however, that the public should know about. Not only to register it, but because publicizing it will serve as a warning for those state employees who could display similar "inadmissible behavior." The rudeness of this state employee (imagine that!) reminds one of the well-known truth that administrative resolution, without any publicity, means justice only half-restored.

Let us admit that such instances are not as isolated as some people, who are fond of balanced judgments, would like to make them seem. Rudeness is already quite widespread in our country and the struggle against it should not be minimized. The people behind the counters yell at the citizen when the latter realizes that they are trying to sell him junk; taxi drivers and bus drivers yell at the citizen; administrative employees announce that they will not serve him "if he grumbles"; health care personnel often use such language with him that it is embarrassing to speak about it in public (but this is a separate topic -- we will talk about that another time!). They yell, they commit outrages, refuse to provide services which they are obliged to. And in all cases, with no exception at all, this behavior blatantly contradicts the requirements of their official status and of good manners. They create scandals during work time. They squander the prestige created by the good workers and employees over the years. They discredit the state. These normal damages are impossible to estimate. We can say, however, that the price is very high and that it is being paid by the whole society. After all, it has to pay for all of this. Rudeness poisons the atmosphere. It becomes a style. It is even normal behavior in some places, where kindness is the exception. If the rude person holds a high position, he can turn a whole department into bullies. This is perfectly logical -- the contagion spreads quite fast. And this is indeed true for some places.

We have already discussed this problem a number of times before. And quite a few colleagues are now pessimistic -- we write and the bullies do whatever they want. In my opinion, we do not talk and write about it enough, and, in particular, not concretely and trenchantly enough. The time has come for us to say that each employee's record should contain some statement that a candidate for a position, especially a job that would require frequent contact with the public, is obliged to have the good-hearted gift of kindness, in addition to having the proper civic consciousness and competence for the position. Let us state it categorically -- a bully goes against the grain, not only for an individual position, but also for our entire socialist democracy. He does not have the moral right to manage, to repair TV sets, to greet and see people off while sitting behind his counter or window, because he causes serious moral damage with every incident he triggers or involves himself in. And this happens not only every day but often several times a day. It is strange that such fellows are called "eccentric," "hot-tempered," and even

"self-willed." There is nothing eccentric or self-willed here. There is rudeness, whether on a small scale or a large one, but besides, a minor outrage by all means leads to a more serious one, and to a scandal. Especially when the abuser remains unpunished.

The uncompromising attitude of the service managers, which was shown in dealing with their employee, confirms that they keep up their principles and the good name of their enterprise and have no intention of being kind-hearted at the state's expense. It is indeed worthy of them. It happens, however, that precisely those people who are supposed to put bullies and troublemakers in their place become their advocates, they forgive them, they pardon them, and sometimes they even tolerate them. He is one of us, after all, we should not abandon him -- that is how they reason. And they become not only accomplices and agents of antisocial behavior, but they issue testimonials for themselves which show that they are unsuitable for official work. How could we imagine that at such an institution or enterprise there could be an atmosphere of kindness when it is very well known that those who are rude to "others" are rude and hypocritical among themselves!

So let us not hasten to conclude such cases. At least until we are convinced that preventing an isolated example of rudeness has restricted the scope of general rudeness.

12334

CSO: 2200/71

BULGARIA

PREPARATIONS TO CELEBRATE ANNIVERSARY OF HISTORIC EVENT

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jan 84 p 6

[Article: "A Source of National Pride"]

[Text] A session of the Executive Bureau of the National Committee for the Development of Veliko Turnovo as an Historical, Cultural and Tourist Site took place at the National Council of the Fatherland Front. It was led by the chairman of the Executive Bureau, Pancho Kubadinski, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

The progress in construction and restoration work at some of the main sites on Tsarevets Hill, more specifically the Patriarchate, St. Dimitur Church, the Kolyo Ficheto town hall, and the preparatory work on the monument to the Asenovites, was discussed.

Measures were outlined for accelerating the construction and restoration work so that the sites could be finished by the year 1985 -- the year in which our nation will officially celebrate the 500th anniversary of Asen and Petur's uprising, Bulgaria's liberation from Byzantine domination, and restoring Bulgaria as a nation.

12334

CSO: 2200/71

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### NEW MULTI-TUBE ROCKET LAUNCHER DESCRIBED

East Berlin BAUERN-ECHO in German 31 Aug 83 p 6

[Article by Maj Bernd Schilling: "Integration-'Katyusha' RM-70; the RM-70 Rocket Launcher Demands a High Level of Military Mastery"]

[Text] In order to be rated an expert in operation of the 40 tube RM-70 rocket launcher, every member of the crew-- chief, driver, lead gunner, and second gunner-- must possess comprehensive theoretical knowledge and solid practical skill. Only precise team work of the four man crew of this modern weapon system results in superior fighting strength and battle readiness of the unit. Establishment of single-mindedness in action is a permanent goal for the two noncommissioned officers and presents new challenges to the two recruits, especially when one of them has been transferred to the reserves, and a new recruit or noncommissioned officer has joined the crew.

#### Important Innovation

The RM-70 is a combination of the well proven Soviet Launcher BM-21, and the Czechoslovakian carrier vehicle Tatra-813 "Kolos", i.e. a genuine result of military equipment integration. In addition to the outstanding characteristics of the all-wheel driven, four axle vehicle, such as good maneuverability in the most difficult terrain, and the ability to function in extreme weather conditions between - 40 and +50 degrees C, the mounting of the launcher on the Tatra chassis brought some important innovations. A second battle set was mounted on the loading surface of the 8.8 m long and 2.5 m wide vehicle, which can be reloaded in a minimum time after start of the first 40 missiles. The tube assembly is lifted by hydraulic means to the proper height and is then pushed into the starting device. What relief this push button starting process means for the crew can easily be seen: each 122 mm caliber projectile is 2.87 m long and weighs a good 66 kg. By automatic loading instead of manual reloading the crew is thus relieved of a two and a half ton load, to say nothing of the time savings since the launcher now is battle ready after a much shorter time.

#### Additional Fighting Strength

In the still relatively brief history of reactive artillery weapons systems the year 1941 is especially significant. In that year Soviet forces used for the



first time a battery of rocket launchers against the totally surprised fascist German invaders and achieved lasting effects.

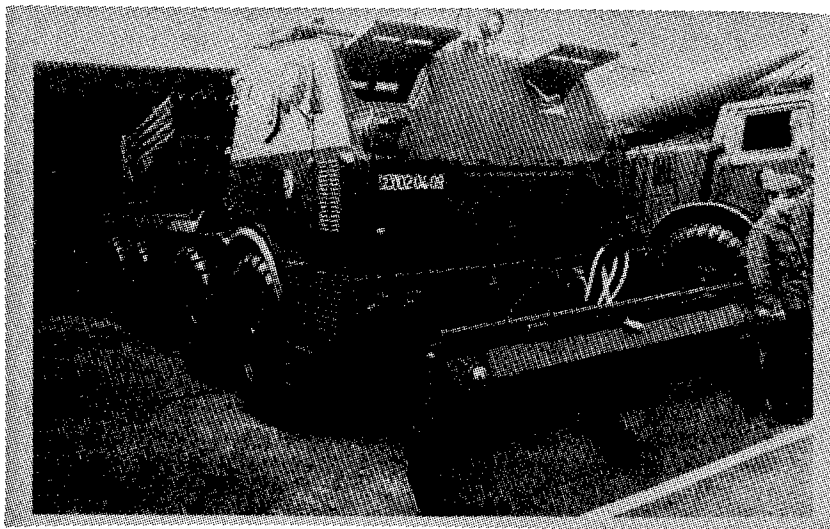
The Russian "secret weapon" which was feared by the enemy and which was nicknamed by the Soviet soldiers with love and respect as "Katyusha", fulfilled its task, especially against living targets and against the fire power of the enemy outside of fortifications and against armored and non armored vehicles in assembly areas. The increase in fighting strength which was achieved by this weapon can be seen from the fact that the 40 missiles can be fired within several seconds, reaching ranges up to 20 km, while a 122 mm howitzer requires ten seconds for each additional shot. If the RM-70 is fitted with a bulldozer blade it can be used for engineer work on fortifications, especially when launcher location is changed rapidly, which requires additional driver skill. The spacious, lightly armored cabin of the RM-70 -- it almost resembles that of an aircraft-- with all the operator controls, dials, and indicators provides shelter and protection for the crew and facilitates their coordinated teamwork during battle training.

#### Close Cooperation

Close cooperation of the four men of the launcher also is essential during maintenance activities. Here they are supported by automotive and artillery service specialists and by the chief mechanic for hydraulic installations. The launcher chief is responsible, besides instruction and crew management, for checkout of the aiming mechanism and control adjustments of the launcher. The driver concentrates--assisted by the second gunner--on vehicle subsystems such as the brake system, the engine compartment, and the drive mechanism. The lead gunner cleans the tube assembly and tests guidance equipment, firing mechanism, and loading device. The second gunner cleans the reloading apparatus. The Tatra 813 does not present any technical riddles, nor does it appear to the crew as some sort of "colossus" difficult to tame, it rather appears as a weapons system which is based on the latest military-scientific principles. During their military service they are learning to master the operation of this system for the military strengthening of socialism and for the preservation of peace.

7994

CSO: 2300/353



CIVIL DEFENSE EFFORT AIDED BY SCIENCE ORGANIZATION

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German Vol 3 No 6 1983 (signed to press 12 Sep 83) p 9

[Article by Civil Defense Col H. Martens: "URANIA Aids in Making Civil Defense Objectives Known"]

[Text] In many of the actions taken by the citizens of the Magdeburg District, be it in connection with remedial operations after occurrences of extreme weather conditions, in training exercises, in civil defense exercises, etc. their deep commitment to the protection of human life, of material property and cultural treasures, and especially to the preservation of peace becomes manifest.

This attitude and active cooperation does not just appear from nowhere. A prerequisite for it consists of intensive, varied, political and ideological instruction among the citizens. All those responsible for education at the national and societal levels make a considerable contribution to this political and ideological task.

As a part of dealing with the main question of our times: "War or Peace?" the district organization of URANIA has set for itself the task of informing the citizenry of the goals, objectives and tasks of civil defense.

Civil Defense is Firmly Established in the URANIA Program

In my capacity 252 member of the military-political section office of URANIA I should like here to report on some of our experiences in our district. In compliance with the program of the Seventh Congress, URANIA is attempting to use specific resources of popular-scientific activities to impress upon the citizens that the prevention of a nuclear war is the one and only means of providing the greatest protection. It explains that socialism is the main force in this effort. It is always emphasized primarily that the contribution of every individual toward the overall strengthening of the GDR, including the steady increase in the defensive capability and defense readiness, is an important condition and prerequisite for fulfilling the decisions made by the Tenth Party Conference.

In this indoctrination task, emphasis on the main efforts of civil defense, the possibility of and necessity for protection, is appropriate. The program

schedules constitute a start in integrating the objectives and tasks of civil defense into the process of ideological indoctrination. Thus for instance, members of the natural science sections expose the imperialist warmongers' activities in producing and using chemical and biological weapons, while at the same time explaining protective measures and first aid procedures.

Members from the medical science field, among others, make valuable contributions to the enlightenment of the population. Their efforts are directed toward instructing all people in the necessity and possibility of self-help and mutual help as well as medical first aid.

Our URANIA speakers have during the Karl-Marx-Year dealt with a number of civil defense subjects as part of the SED security and military policy, e.g.:

- civil defense tasks, functions and role in the national defense and the demands on social organizations for politically motivating the citizen to cooperate;
- Civil Defense--a major factor in the defensive capability of the socialist state;
- The capacity of the civil defense organization in populated areas and its tasks.

The main tenor of these presentations was to portray the essence of civil defense and, more than anything else, to make the citizens realize that protection is possible and necessary and that preparations for it must be made in peace time with the cooperation of all citizens.

#### Good Use Made of an Opportunity

From January through May 1983 alone, about 10,000 citizens attended 200 lectures sponsored by the military-political regional sections on civil defense, and 50 lectures in the natural sciences sections; some of these dealt with chemical warfare and protection against chemical warfare agents. Our section does not of course consider these lectures to be substitutes for basic training in civil defense, which is the responsibility of the instructors concerned.

Our experience indicates that indoctrination efforts are most effective when basic political principles of civil defense are closely tied to technical instruction. That is why we include also explanations of specific items of instruction about the possibilities and effectiveness of protective measures.

Significant for explaining civil defense matters are also the military policy lectures, which deal with the questions of national defense, the preservation of peace and with exposing imperialist arming and confrontation policies. Attendees frequently ask specific questions afterwards about the effects of weapons of all types, individual and collective protective measures, and about the responsibility of state and economic authorities for implementing civil

defense tasks. This constitutes quite a challenge to the speakers and the quality of their presentations.

#### Further Improvement in Recruiting Reserves

Our experience indicates that we must make still better and more comprehensive efforts to use our available resources. Competent speakers are of extreme importance in providing a useful program. Lectures, seminars and counseling sessions have proven valuable in this respect.

Questions and problems are dealt with which correspond to the national and societal character of civil defense. Members of the civil defense can help with this qualification and with the URANIA activities by serving as a speaker on the one hand, and on the other hand by enabling speakers from other sections to include civil defense problems in their lectures by explaining the tasks and necessity of civil defense and by transmitting to them specialized knowledge and experiences.

The situation requires us to look for additional reserve resources so as to satisfy the requirements for specific indoctrination on the spirit and substance of the national defense.

9273

CSO: 2300/249

IMPROVEMENT OF NEW APC DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1984 (signed to press 11 Nov 83) pp 22-23

/Article by Lt Col E Pusch, engineer: "SPW 70--a Further Development of the SPW 60 PB"/

/Text/ The SPW 70 represents a further development of the reliable SPW 60 PB, having undergone various improvements. For example, it received two ZMZ 4905 engines which together increase power by 37 kW. The performance/weight ratio has thus been increased from 12.7 kW/ton to 15 kW/ton. Engine mounts were also improved. The cooling system was equipped with expansion tanks so that there are no further losses of coolant. Differential components, such as wheel suspensions, were strengthened. The SPW now has two main clutch cylinders and the play in the clutch between thrust bearing and disengaging level need no longer be adjusted during operation. A second master brake cylinder has been installed so that the SPW now has a dual brake system. The hydrojet propulsion system and the protective characteristics have also been improved.

Use of SPW 70 is governed by manual 051/1/231, SCHUETZENPANZERWAGEN 70--Operation. The operating standards point to high reliability and durability of the construction components and equipment. In spite of the increased performance of the two engines the basic fuel consumption rate rose only by 0.05 liter per kilometer. The improved performance/mass ratio vouches for high average driving speeds and good acceleration.

1. Crew Responsibilities

Operators must be able to react quickly and adapt sensitively to the driving situation, and they must be able to make full use of the increased engine capacity to meet combat demands without damaging the SPW.

In the case of the SPW 70 it continues to be true that operability depends greatly on timely and conscientious maintenance and inspection. This requires good technical skills so that miscalculations can be avoided.

An example is the testing of the coolant level. The operator must check it in two places (expansion tank and radiator). The normal engine operating temperatures depend on this.

Compared with the SPW 60 PB the maintenance intervals are doubled--TW-1 (technical maintenance) every 2000 km, TW-2 every 6000 km. In the planning for training and combat tasks the commander thus has greater kilometer reserves at his disposal. The greater maintenance intervals require that maintenance is performed at the right time, to the full extent, conscientiously, and to quality standards.

Pre-operation inspection tasks are to be performed analogous to the SPW 60 PB. In addition, the electrical circuits of the ignition cartridges of the fire extinguishers and the condition for the warning lights for fire, brakes, and coolant temperatures must be checked. The sensor indicating water leakage into the power plant housing has not yet been installed, thus that warning light is inoperative. The operating instructions provide that the engine air filters must be cleaned every 100 kilometers during missions when there is a high air dust content, i.e., this must occur during inspections performed at scheduled rest periods. Drives of more than 100 kilometers on unpaved, sandy roads are exceptional in our geographical situation. Thus the cleaning of the air filters will, as a rule, take place during the TTW (daily maintenance service).

During the TTW the hydraulic fluid levels in the main clutch cylinders and the master brake cylinders must be checked. In addition, the operation of the appropriate signal lamps is to be checked by opening and closing the side hatches.

## 2. Maintenance Experiences

Raisable hoods allow easy access to the power plant for maintenance and repair. As before, engines are to be warmed up before pre-operating inspection. The preheater has to be used like the modernized preheater of the SPW 60 PB. At an outside temperature of 7-8 degrees Centigrade and a 10-minute warmup period the oil temperature will reach 80-90 degrees C and the coolant temperature 60 degrees C. Particular attention must be paid to the battery charge and starter functioning. The engines are no longer cranked before the initial start. They can be turned for adjustment with a hook wrench at the intermediate universal joint from the gearbox to the transfer case.

The second engine can no longer be started through the connected hydrojet propulsion unit, since now every rotor is driven independently from the engine by a drive shaft of the intermediate drive unit of the hydrojet propulsion. Should an engine fail during a mission, it can be decoupled from the transmission by a mechanism attached to the gear level of the transfer case. For this purpose a level is activated during a brief stop.

Before maintenance work on the V-belt drives of the engines and on components such as the air compressor, water pump, or generator, the radiators have to be swung out of the way. It is absolutely necessary that the drain cocks be opened before this (change in volume) so that the flexible hose attached to the radiator top will not be deformed. During the reinstallation of the radiator particular attention must be paid to the correct position of the flexible hose within the protective sleeve. The removal/attachment is not necessary during every TTW, only for installation or maintenance jobs. This helps to prolong the useful life of the flexible hose and avoids engine damage due to coolant loss.

### 3. Loading of the SPW 70

Loading of the SPW 70 on a tank transporter takes place in the same manner as that of the SPW 60 PE. Only the tow line is to be removed from the left front towing hook and stowed securely. The unused towing hook is needed to secure the bracing chains (Figure 2)

For railway transport the SPW 70 can be loaded on the same flatcars as the SPW 60 PB:

<u>Model</u>	<u>Number of SPW 70</u>
Rlmmmp	1
Klm	1
Sa	2

If two SPW 70 are to be loaded on one Sa model flatcar an interval of 10-18 cm must be maintained between the SPW. This guarantees adherence to the permissible distance the SPW's front or rear can protrude over the flatcar.

### 4. Experiences in the Operation of the SPW 70

The highway driving characteristics of the SPW 70 are similar to those of the SPW 60 PB. The lower height and the consequent lower center of gravity ensure stability, especially on curves. Due to increased engine performance there is no loss of speed on small inclines. Indeed, acceleration is possible.

The driver's field of vision is different from that of the SPW 60 PB. The driver has to be constantly guided by the commander/group leader. Drivers who previously have driven the SPW 60 PB tend to drive too far to the left.

Due to improved engine performance and suspension a higher average cross country speed is obtained. Because of the good suspension the driver hardly notices road irregularities. But independent of the driver's feeling the chassis must withstand considerable punishment. This requires driving habits appropriate for the terrain conditions. To avoid damage to the hull bottom driving speeds for bumpy roads must not be exceeded.

The quick release for reducing tire pressure has been of great use in overcoming difficult terrain. All obstacles on the tank driving range that the SPW 60 PB overcomes can also be overcome by the SPW 70.

General preparations for amphibious operations correspond to those of the SPW 60. The faultless function of the side hatch seals is especially important. These must in no case be damaged. Thirteen seals must be inspected in the hull.

Watertightness is checked in the same way as in the SPW 60 PB. A difference is that the area around the fuel tank is filled with water (similar to SPW 60 PZ). The power plant compartment must be checked with particular care. It is separated from the crew compartment by a watertight barrier and water leakage can only be detected through the sensor device. The bilge pump is more effective than in the SPW 60 PB. The same safety regulations for crossing water barriers apply.

With two engines a water obstacle can be crossed without drifting, even in a strong current (2 meters/second during a test). Entry into the water barrier is possible up to an angle of 45 degrees as well as at a right angle to the bank. With only one engine the craft drifts only a little in the same conditions.

If the hydrojet propulsion fails the water barriers can be overcome by wheel propulsion with the third gear engaged and front axle connected.

The SPW 70 is stable in water. No turbulence can be detected behind the craft. The SPW reacts quickly to every steering move. By engaging the forward or reverse gear, depending on the direction of the movement, the SPW can be immediately stopped in water.

The retrieval of disabled craft from a water obstacle by a SPW 70 causes no difficulties due to its good floating characteristics.

## 5. Final remarks

In the introduction of the SPW 70 the provisions of DV 051/0/001 regarding the acceptance and transfer of armored vehicles, and the warranty and complaint procedures must be strictly followed.

After the release of the SPW 70 for use the breaking in requirements as well as the additional maintenance prescribed in the operating manual must be carried out conscientiously and at the right time. These are based on previous experiences and guarantee a high degree of operability.



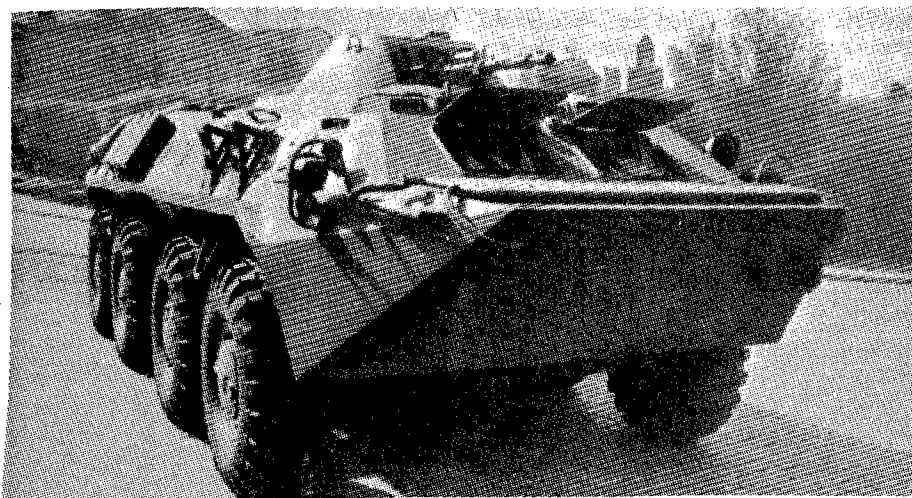


Figure 1. SPW 70

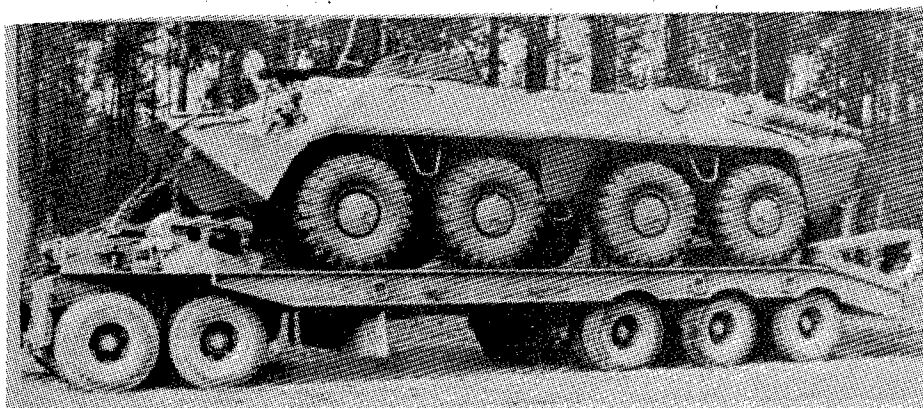


Figure 2. SPW on a tank transporter

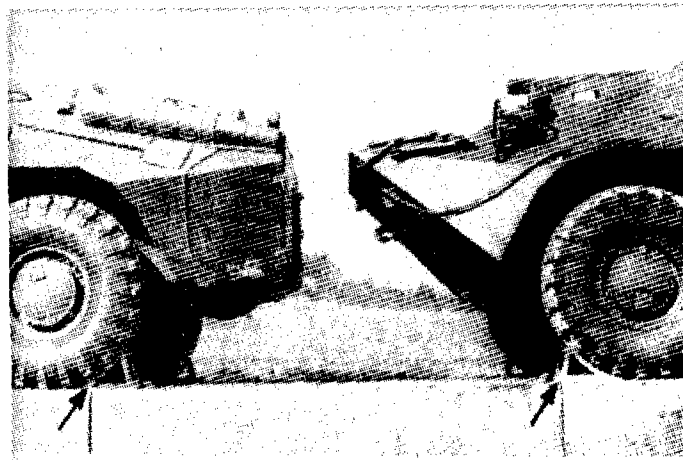


Figure 3. Placement of standard loading blocks so that the prescribed distance between the front of one SPW and the rear of another is maintained.

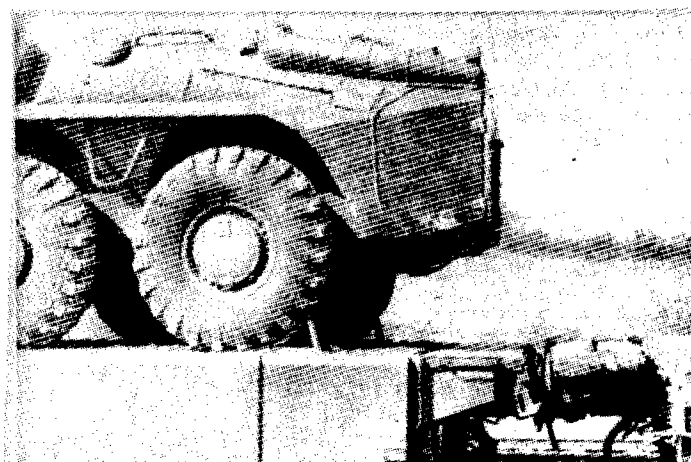


Figure 4. The SPW may protrude over the end of a flatcar only a permissible space.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW CARDINAL, GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL DISCUSS CATHOLIC CONCERNS

Frankfort/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by "Ws." datelined Berlin 29 Nov 83: "Cardinal Meisner with State Secretary Gysi: There's a lot to Discuss Between Church and State in the GDR"]

[Text] The GDR state secretary for church affairs, Gysi, and the chairman of the Berlin Bishops Conference, Cardinal Meisner, met together in East Berlin for a talk which, according to a report by the GDR news agency ADN [German General News Service], was held "in a candid and open atmosphere" and in which "a number of relevant issues were discussed." The last publicly reported meeting between Gysi and Meisner took place in October of last year, thus prior to the pastoral letter from GDR bishops to the World Peace Conference on 1 January and Meisner's elevation to cardinal in February. The content of the pastoral letter from the 10 catholic bishops who attended the Berlin Bishops Conference and suffragan bishops in the GDR has not yet been disclosed by the GDR's press, radio and television. Because of the pastoral letter's references to hardships of catholics in the GDR in connection with military science instruction, in January the ADN criticized "certain church dignitaries in the GDR," who are GDR citizens but "who are controlled by Rome."

Regarding Gysi's talk with Cardinal Meisner on Monday, the ADN said--the report is presumably coordinated between the state secretary and the cardinal--in reference to the pope's latest statements that preservation of world peace in the present situation requires an unbiased and sincere willingness to talk and negotiate, that "on the basis of the peace-pastoral letter of the Berlin Bishops Conference of January 1983," Meisner had explained the contribution of the Catholic Church in the GDR. Adding to State Secretary Gysi's remarks concerning the current worsening of the international political situation and its causes, the ADN said that Cardinal Meisner had stressed that John Paul II's appeal took on even greater urgency: "In this connection, he addressed issues of an ideological and defense-policy nature. He referred to the gospel as the basis of spiritual peace education."

Cardinal Meisner definitely emphasized strongly to the GDR's state secretary for church affairs the hardships--not only of Catholics, but of all Christians in the GDR--which were also mentioned in the pastoral letter. Under the heading of "ideological issues," he said that the wish of the Catholic Church should be granted with regard to holding talks with the GDR's Ministry for Public

Education concerning the "communist upbringing" of all students, as required by the state and practiced in GDR schools. The new school ordinance which took effect in early 1980 requires GDR educators "to further complete communist upbringing." In contrast, Catholic bishops reaffirmed the right of parents to bring up their children. In their pastoral letters of spring 1981 and January 1983, the GDR's bishops wrote: "Parents must not relinquish their right to bring up their children and no one may take it away from them. Even the state, in connection with its educational goals, must comply with parents' wishes." The Ministry for Public Education, which has been directed by Mrs Honecker since 1963, has thus far refused to even discuss with the Catholic or Protestant church--which has also been trying to obtain such talks for a long time--the required educational goal of GDR schools to develop "communist personalities," let alone comply with the wishes of Christian parents.

Hidden behind the catchword of "issues of a defense-policy nature" are the complaints of the Catholic Church concerning frequent cases in which young draftees apply under valid legal regulations for unarmed military service as "construction soldiers," but who are nevertheless assigned to regular units and--if they do not comply with their draft assignment--are punished. It is also a question of better treatment and respect of the religious requirements of construction soldiers--for example, that they not only be verbally permitted to attend worship services and to possess bibles and missals, but also that they actually be enabled to do so. Finally, the Catholic bishops are in favor of military service for reservists also being completed in unarmed construction units and that the refusal to undergo marksmanship training also be recognized in the case of students and trainees. Preinduction military training is part of the education of trainees in the GDR.

The bishops had also expressed their views on these issues in their pastoral letter of 1 January: "We observe with alarm that the thinking of military groups is becoming more and more a part of scholastic education and vocational training." The Berlin Bishops Conference had also notified the GDR Government of its "serious misgivings" regarding the introduction of military science instruction. The pastoral letter stated: "We would have liked to have seen more consideration shown for our concern. We find our misgivings in this regard strengthened as a result of the current development." This is presumably the case today to an even greater degree than when the pastoral letter was first read.

The ADN report on the meeting between Cardinal Meisner and State Secretary Gysi said that both sides had reaffirmed their willingness "to continue uninterruptedly their cooperation in clarifying unresolved issues of mutual interest." But at present, there is no indication that the wishes of the Catholic Church in the GDR are being granted by the state.

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## HUNGARY

### ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES RAISE INTEREST IN SOCIAL BENEFITS NETWORK

#### Retirement--Socialism's Victory

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Sep 83 pp 7-8

[Interview with Dr Bela Kurucz, deputy director of the SZOT (Central Council of the Hungarian Trade Unions) Social Insurance General Administration, by Laszlo Dankovits: "Our Pension System--The Outstanding Achievement of Socialist Society"; date and place not specified; passages enclosed in slantlines were printed in italics]

[Text] Over 100 years ago, the workers' movement embarked on the struggle to gain the right to an old age pension. This demand gradually mobilized ever greater masses, and today a pension, as an institution, may already be considered universal in the industrial states. In our country, the first comprehensive worker-employee pension system was realized beginning in 1929; after the liberation, it developed and became universal with lightning speed, in parallel with social and economic development. The right of everyone who works for a living to a pension in his old age or in the event of earlier disability, to guaranteed financial support, could be appreciated as one of the outstanding achievements of the socialist system. That is, a pension is an entitlement gained by work and in no way should be confused with social assistance, which is based on need.

Thus it is understandable that public opinion is agitated by the currently circulating but nowhere corroborated reports and opinions to the effect that the pension system will be changed in the near future, the method of pension calculation will be different and the retirement age will be raised. Naturally, our readers also expect answers to questions such as, for example, what the possibilities are and what may be done towards raising the low, old pensions and maintaining the real value of the pensions. Laszlo Dankovits, a member of our editorial staff discussed these questions with Dr Bela Kurucz, the deputy director of the SZOT Social Insurance General Administration.

[Question] What place could be assigned to the pension system among the living conditions of today?

[Answer] If we mean to interpret the content of the right to old age retirement, we must keep two things in mind: /financial security and social respect/. These are what must be ensured for the elderly and what they may legitimately expect on the basis of their work from society. Today it is fashionable to talk only of problems in every field. This also occurs rather frequently concerning the subject of pensions. But no problem could obscure the accomplishment that a pension system of national dimensions is functioning in our country which fundamentally solves the financial support of the elderly.

As of 31 December 1983, nearly 2.2 million people, almost /20 percent/ of the country's population, received pensions.

Basically, the social efforts aimed at according greater respect to the elderly are proceeding well. This was given great momentum by the fact that the /Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/ included the appreciation of the elderly as part of its platform. In this area, a new plateau was also reached by the fact that we participated in the year of the elderly announced by the UN. Accordingly, it is possible to meet with programs and efforts almost daily which endeavor to take into account the concerns of the elderly and their alleviation.

#### The Most Pressing Concerns of the Pension System

[Question] What are the most urgent problems related to the pension system which are ready for solution?

[Answer] These are multidirectional. One of the most urgent and "oldest" concerns is that /the old pensions/ greatly lag behind the new ones. Differences between the amounts set for pensions today and for those set 10-15 years earlier for the identical job and same length of service may be encountered every day. The difference is extremely great /to the advantage of those of today/. There are complex reasons for the lagging behind of old pensions. Among these, the most important are the following:

/Salaries increased/ at a rapid pace and since 1973, the favorable law has been in effect which holds that of the last five years, the income of the best three years may be taken into consideration;

The length of /service time which could be included increased/. This was caused, on the one hand, by the fact that it was not permitted, nor was it possible previously, to include the time before 1929 in the pension;

/The succession of pension systems raised the standard of the pension/. For example, until 1975, it was possible to attain 71 percent of the average wages; following this, it became 75 percent;

/The preservation of the purchasing power/ of pensions did not occur in a satisfactory way, and this too intensified the lagging of the old pensions.

Naturally, steps were taken to counterbalance the lagging. During the course of each 5-year plan, a differential increase in the old, low pensions was

occasioned. In March 1970, July 1975 and January 1979, pensions increases were enacted which favorably affected primarily the old pensioners. It is well known that from /1 September of this year, low pensions were again increased/. These measures aggregately raised the support of those receiving the lowest pensions by approximately /6 billion/ forints. However, I must honestly say that /in order to raise the old pensions to an acceptable level, we would need more than 10 billion forints each year/, which is unfortunately not at our disposal.

#### The Possibilities for Maintaining Purchasing Power

[Question] You mentioned the concerns regarding the preservation of the pension's purchasing power. What is actually the situation with regard to this issue?

[Answer] The unsatisfactory maintenance of the purchasing power of pensions is the most general problem affecting pensioners. Thus, this affects /every pensioner/, both the new and the old. The lack of a satisfactory solution could promise an anguishing prospect because it is a signal that everyone could become an old, low-paid pensioner in the present-day sense. Naturally, steps were also taken in this area to remedy the situation.

[Question] What were these?

[Answer] In 1971, we introduced the automatic increase of pensions by 2 percent yearly. The premise for this measure was that consumer prices do not grow by more than /2 percent each year/. As it is known, the situation developed otherwise. Therefore, the system serving to preserve the purchasing power of the pensions also had to be modified. In one respect, the yearly automatic increase ensures a minimal increase in addition to the 2 percent which /may not be less than 100 forints since 1981/. With this solution, pensioners whose monthly support is less than 5,000 forints receive an increase greater than 2 percent.

At the same time, not everyone is satisfied with this solution. Pensioners with larger amounts object to the 2 percent while those with smaller pensions object to the over 100-forint sum they are due by virtue of the 2 percent increase. Incidentally, the automatic raise ensuring a yearly 2 percent increase of at least 100 forints increases the pensions by /2.6 billion forints each year/.

The measures which concerned supplementary pensions on the occasion of certain central price increases also serve to preserve purchasing power. Thus today, /every pensioner receives a 290-forint supplement/ with certain ones receiving 380 forints each month which is included in their /pensions/. The effects of the measures providing raises, the automatic increase and the price compensating measures clearly demonstrate that, for example, in 1975 the amount of the lowest pension was 910 forints while today it is 1900 forints.

[Question] Are there any ideas for an acceptable solution aimed at preserving the purchasing power?

[Answer] It is not the ideas and suggestions which are lacking but the appropriate financial wherewithal. The Social Insurance General Administration is of the opinion that the kind of automatic increase should be developed which flexibly accommodates to the cost of living, increasing as a result of changes in consumer prices. Naturally to do this, these costs should be exactly and continuously measured. /An average pension should be taken into consideration from which the amount it should be supplemented by to retain its purchasing power could be calculated./ This amount should be given to every pensioner. It is hard to imagine a system which would increase every pension by an identical percent whether it conforms to increases in wages or income. That is, this would increase the difference between the small and larger amounts. Naturally, other solutions are also conceivable.

#### Concerns for Augmenting Resources

[Question] In addition to the concerns affecting pensioners, what sort of pension problems are encountered by those who, in addition to the formation of pensions, must also assume the burdens of the formation of work incomes and of procuring resources?

[Answer] It is indisputable that the greatest concern on the other side of the coin is the procurement of resources. This year, pensions expenses are expected to reach /75 billion forints/. To ensure this enormous sum while taking into consideration that other problems also exist is an overwhelming responsibility for everyone concerned. In some contexts, the formation of pension costs is not presented favorably. The fact of the matter is that there has been full employment in our country for a decade. However, the ranks of the pensioners have still not been saturated, since at least 10 years of work must be completed for a pension. This means that /the number of people employed will no longer increase significantly, but the number of pensioners will increase from year to year/ and this process will probably go on for a good many years. While the number of employed will no longer increase, the outgoing pension volume will increase more rapidly than the outgoing work earnings, also because of the increase in numbers. This however is the logical consequence of the gradual realization of full employment.

It is no surprise if those who view the formation of pension costs independent of this /do not understand the essence/, and primarily seek the problem in the conditions for the right to receive a pension.

Naturally, the rapid rate of increase of the outgoing pension volume is also a consequence of the fact that on the one hand, the incomes serving as the basis of the pensions are increasing rapidly and on the other hand, that the price compensating measures are likewise cost-increasing factors, the funds for which must be found in increased sales simultaneously. However, there are those who also consider the latter as unjustifiably /"sterile"/ pension costs.

#### A Pension is a Guaranteed Right Based on Work and the Payment of Premiums

However, on the whole, the fundamental concern is indicated by the fact that /the unfavorable changes in the world economic situation and their domestic



effects coincided with the large-scale increase of pension costs/. These are the principle concerns which are increasingly forcing the search for the creation of resources into the forefront of pension concerns. In relation to this, there also arise ideas relating to changing the present-day pension financing system.

[Question] There are some who are already talking about a radically new pension system. Is such a thing in preparation?

[Answer] /Even the pension system cannot remain permanently unchanged/. The present-day situation is also the result of developments throughout several decades. However, the direction of change may not call into question our fundamental principles. That is, /a pension is a guaranteed right based on work and the payment of premiums/ which must be proportionate to the work performed; in pension terminology, it must be proportionate to the length of service and to the average income attained over a longer period of time, which is designated to measure the quantity and quality of the performed work. Further, the purchasing power of the assigned pension must be preserved; moreover, pensioners too must benefit from the results of economic progress.

It is as incorrect to formulate the need for change only in terms of resources as it is impossible to realistically make developmental proposals without a careful exploration and consideration of available financial resources.

[Question] Nowadays one may read and hear about ideas which maintain that we should adopt a three-tiered system--a minimum pension by virtue of citizenship, plus a differentiated pension based on work plus a supplementary pension based on voluntary contributions. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] In considering our social situation, I must say that this idea /does not seem realistic/ or progressive. In our opinion we could not provide everyone a pension independent of their participation in communal work within the foreseeable future. The care of people who have no pensions, are penniless or helpless /belongs in the framework of social assistance and care/. A basic pension system which is independent of work performed would largely disconnect the impetus toward financial security in old age. /This trielemental concept is not sympathetic if for no other reason that the funds to cover its cost could be procured largely by restricting pensions based on length of service./

The Age Limit Remains Unchanged

The supplementary, voluntarily financed pension insurance would only be feasible if the standard of the pension based on length of service were significantly decreased. But our pension system conforms even better to our principles of socialist division and general opinion when we tend more to /measuring/ the pension /to work performed/. In our opinion, for the reasons mentioned, it is not practical to lower the level of the pensions based on length of service. We consider /the even more consistent implementation of the present basic principles/ to be a more realistically pursuable path. By this I mean that, for example, in calculating the length of service it is increasingly justified to take into consideration the actual work performed, i.e., a realistic tightening.

[Question] The retirement age is also recurrently the subject of public opinion. May changes be expected?

[Answer] It is /unlikely/ that an increase in the average retirement age will be on the agenda in the foreseeable future. That is, it was hardly a few years ago that we adjusted the retirement age for agricultural cooperative members to the present-day average retirement age. In any event, the consequence of a general raising of the retirement age would be that employment would have to be assured even in older age, i.e., the so-called /age of protection/ would have to be expanded. It is uncertain whether this would prove to be a justifiable measure, if only economically. But /another factor against raising the retirement age/ is that the life expectancy of the citizens who have reached the retirement age is not greater than it was 25-30 years before, i.e., males who have reached the age of 60 on average /do not live longer today/ than 25-30 years ago.

At the same time it is not possible to agree with the present mechanistic practice of retirement. /Neither should the so-called flexible retirement age be an alien notion/, which permits either retirement a few years before the average age limit for a smaller pension, or working past the average age limit for a larger pension. The first approvable step toward the adoption of a more flexible system like this would be the elimination of the right to receive a pension in old age as a legitimate reason for retirement from the Code of Labor Legislation.

#### The Effect of Work Incentive Measures

[Question] Were there any pension measures of great significance which had negative results?

[Answer] Unfortunately, there were some, and even today we are feeling their effect to a large extent. Let me present a few of these.

The first uniform pension system was implemented in Hungary on /1 January 1952/. In Hungarian pension history this date is of outstanding importance. However, the system itself, by introducing a /dual age limit/, became the source of serious problems. The essence of the system was that, for example, males who retired at the age of 60 could receive 15 percent of their average income; those who retired 5 years later could receive twice this, 30 percent of their average income. The idea was that the overwhelming majority of those affected would continue working for the higher pension. The opposite of this happened. Thus, extremely /low pensions/ came into existence en masse which even today cause the greatest problems for pensioners. The goal of solving the problem of work incentive with pension measures did not prove to be realizable.

/Starting on 1 October 1954/, a new pension system was established which from the viewpoint of more favorable pension amounts took the /years after 1945/ into consideration. Later this would become the source of serious grievances.

When the new macroeconomic management system was adopted, there were measures stating that in the calculation of social insurance provisions /the bonuses and other incidental benefits/ must be calculated into the pensions. And where it

injured the wage and bonus ethics, this created a possibility for the pension base to be /artificially/ inflated with either one-time or more frequent incidental bonuses of larger amounts. The measure established in 1981, which states that at most, /up to 10 percent/ of the bonus could be calculated into the other income forming the pension base, was established to counterbalance this.

/On 1 January 1972/ the system of /incentive pension allowance/ was introduced which ensures a significantly higher pension for years spent working after the retirement age in contrast to earlier years /(today only physical laborers are eligible for this)/. This measure in itself deformed the fixed amounts of the pensions. Simultaneously, they also introduced the new system of pension payments for auxiliary labor. These measures were created in the then "labor shortage situation" to increase the work time base. Unfortunately, the majority chose retirement and part-time work representing a higher income. The result was that the work time base decreased and pension costs increased.

All these problems could be decisively attributed to the fact that /we used the pension system to an exaggerated extent in the interests of daily economic policy, labor management and incentive goals/. Naturally, the notion of a sterile pension system changing and developing only according to its own laws is unrealistic. But as experience shows, the other extreme is also undesirable.

[Question] There are also widespread speculations and opinions that starting next year, pensions will be calculated in a different way. Is this rumor true?

[Answer] To this I can say that these /reports are unfounded/. We are not preparing for these measures.

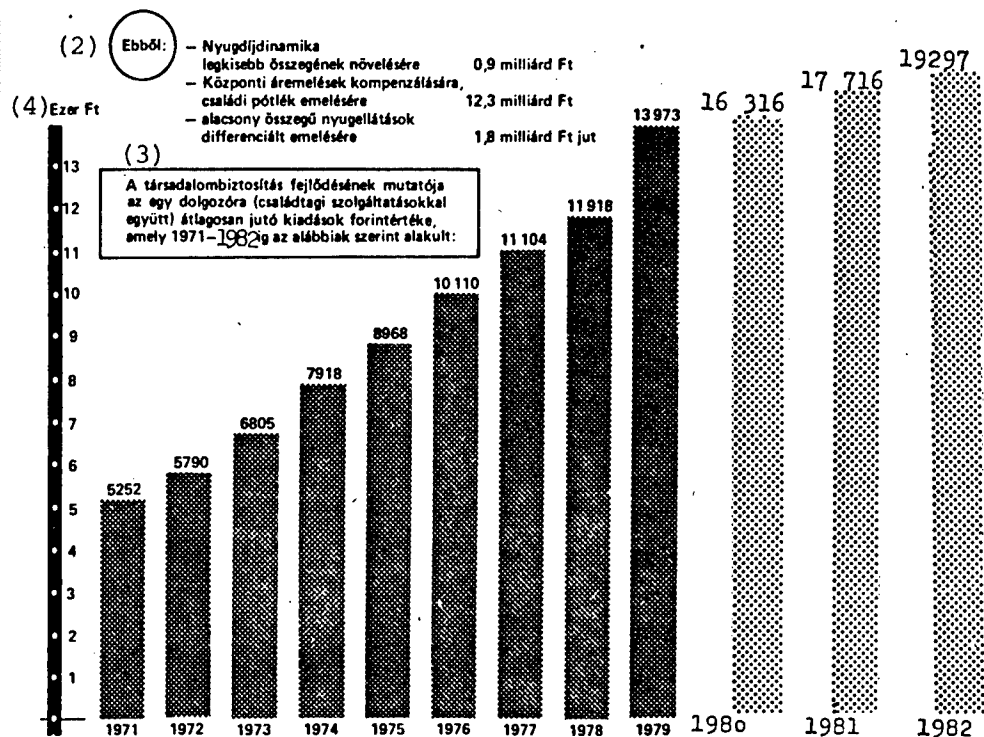
[Question] As we know, 1 September was the occasion for pension increases. How far has the implementation of the measures progressed?

[Answer] Everything occurred in the greatest of order. The pension-paying agencies were prepared in time and /in the month of September those affected may already receive the increased pension payment on the usual payment day./

[Question] Could a postponement of the pension fixing occur and what would be the reason for this?

[Answer] For many years we have been striving for the pension fixing to occur on time. The goal is for the pensioner to receive the first payment /within 30 days/, i.e., when wages were due previously. We are able to successfully ensure this in the overwhelming majority of the cases. /Pension processing in the workplace/ represents an enormous help in this. The fixing of the pension in prepared cases occurs well before the 30 days. Here I wish to call your attention to the fact that everyone has the right in the year before retirement to request the fixing of their length of service from the social insurance administration or branch office which has jurisdiction according to place of residence. In any case, pension fixing and payments are matters for a flexible, well organized administration reinforced with a /computerized system/. To

**AZ V. ÖTÉVES TERV  
FEJLESZTÉSI INTÉZKEDÉSEINEK  
EREDMÉNYEKÉNT, TOVÁBBÁ EGYES  
KÖZPONTI ÁREMELÉSEK KOMPENZÁLÁSÁRA  
ÁLLAMUNK ÉVES KÖLTSÉGGIHATÁSBAN  
15 MILLIÁRD FORINTOT BIZTOSÍTOTT (1)**



Key:

- As a result of the developmental measures of the fifth 5-Year Plan, and further, to compensate for certain central price increases, our state has allocated 15 billion forints of its yearly budget.
- Of this:
  - 0.9 billion forints are allocated toward the increase in the lowest amount of pension dynamics;
  - 12.3 billion forints to compensate for central price increases and to increase family allowances; and
  - 1.8 billion forints for the differential increase in low pensions.
- The index of the development of social insurance is the average forint value of expenses per worker (including services for family members) which from 1971-1982 developed as follows:
- Thousand forints

arrange for the punctual payment of 2.2 million pensions /and to carefully settle the determination of approximately 170,000 new pensions each year is only possible with the devoted, expert and conscientious work of those working there./ Fortunately, there is no deficiency here. Even if problems occur sporadically, from time to time, we immediately strive to rectify them as soon as they are brought to our attention.

#### Insurance Concept, Benefits

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Sep 83 p 8

[Unattributed report: "The Concept and Benefits of Insurance"; passages enclosed in slantlines were printed in italics]

[Text] Insured persons are entitled to all social insurance benefits. Persons covered by insurance are those who are employed, members of industrial and agricultural cooperatives, vocational students, cottage industry workers, those regularly and personally working on the basis of commission, persons engaged in occasional physical labor, members of the driver training cooperative, members of agricultural cooperatives, private artisans, private businessmen and further, the family members helping the members of business partnerships, the close relatives of the business directors of contract business operations and persons engaged in correctional-educational work.

/What comprises these benefits?/ Sick pay, pregnancy, confinement and maternity benefits are due in the case of sickness or maternity, respectively. In the event of death, the survivor receives funeral benefits. Maternity and funeral benefits are also due in the event of the birth or death of dependent relatives.

#### Conditions for Receiving Benefits

/The conditions for receiving benefits are/: if the worker becomes unable to work while covered by insurance, or on the first or second day following the termination of the insurance; if someone becomes unable to work from 2 to 15 days following the termination of the insurance and if the insurance was in effect for 180 days continuously, or if the person receives, after the termination of insurance, accident or pregnancy-maternity benefits and is unable to work the day after those benefits are terminated.

Perhaps it is not superfluous here to review the /concept of the inability to work/. Those who are unable to earn a living /cannot work at their jobs/ because of illness or unable to perform their work because of pregnancy or confinement. A mother, if she breastfeeds her less than one year-old child who is under hospital care; a mother or single father, when caring for a sick child less than 6 years of age; the parent caring for a less than 14 year-old child with scarlet fever at home; one who is dismissed from employment for reasons of public health and who does not receive another position, or who for reasons of public health is officially quarantined, and further, one who is unable to appear at his workplace because of an infectious or veterinary sequestration and who cannot be temporarily

employed in another workplace or type of work are all considered unable to work.

One is /entitled to receive benefits/ for the duration of the inability to work, /at most, for up to one year/, and in the event of tuberculosis, up to /two years/. Each year, 60 days of benefits are received for the care of each child who is older than 1 year but less than 3 years old; 30 days, i.e., 60 days for single parents, of benefits are received for the care of each child who is older than 3 years but less than 6 years old.

One who immediately prior to his inability to work had continuous coverage for less than 2 years, may receive benefits /only in proportion to the time of continuous coverage/, in the event of tubercular illness.

Benefits are due, without regard to the length of insurance to /anyone who becomes unable to work before the age of 18/ or someone who becomes insured within 180 days after finishing school and remains continuously insured until the inability sets in.

The amount of the benefit is calculated on the basis of /the average daily earnings attained during the calendar year preceding the disability/. In the event of 2 years of continuous insurance, its extent is 75 percent of the average daily earnings; in other cases, it is 65 percent.

/Accident benefits/ are due to anyone who becomes unable to work as a result of injuries sustained in the workplace or occupational illnesses. The accident benefit is to be paid--without time limitations--/for as long as the injured party remains unable to work because of the work-related injury/. The accident benefit is the total amount of the average daily earnings.

Pregnancy-confinement benefits are due to anyone who /has been insured for at least 180 days within 2 years prior to giving birth/ and who gave birth during the time the insurance was in effect, or within 42 days after the termination of insurance, or 42 days after the termination of insurance but during the time disability or accident benefits were paid, or within 28 days after the termination of disability payments. The benefits /are received for the same length of time as the maternity leave/.

#### Pregnancy-Confinement Benefits

The amount of the pregnancy-confinement benefits corresponds to /the average daily earnings/ in the event that the parturient woman was insured for at least 270 days within 2 years prior to giving birth. In the event that the number of insured days are less than this but are at least 180 days, the amount is 65 percent of the average daily earnings.

Maternity benefits concern all those who during the course of their pregnancy participated, at least once, in a prenatal medical examination, and who gave birth during the duration of insurance, or rather within 180 days after the termination of the insurance, or within 180 days after the termination of the insurance but while receiving disability or accident benefits, pregnancy-

confinement benefits, or child care benefits. /The amount of the maternity benefits, depending on the number of prenatal medical examinations, is 1,000-2,500 forints./

/Funeral benefits/ are due for each relative who died while the insurance is in effect or within 180 days after the termination of the insurance or within 180 days after the termination of insurance but while receiving disability or pregnancy-confinement benefits or child care benefits. The amount of the funeral benefit is 2,000 forints in the event of in-ground burial and 1,000 forints in the event of cremation.

#### Family Allowance, Maternity Leave

The insured is entitled to a /family allowance/ if he supports a child in the household. A family allowance is due for each child who is less than 16 years of age or who is older than 16 but less than 19 years of age and studies in the day session of an elementary or secondary school (educational institute), or who is chronically ill or is either physically or mentally deficient. In contrast to the above, a family allowance per child is due until the child is 6 years old. According to the general regulations, a family allowance is due for one child living in the household if /the insured is a single parent/ or the child is chronically ill or physically or mentally deficient. There is no family allowance due for the child receiving orphan benefits, for third-year vocational school students, students placed in vocational school homes and further, for children placed in free institutions, reform schools or infants' or children's homes.

The family allowance is due for the calendar month in which the affected relative was insured for at least 21 days.

The amount of the family allowance is as follows:

	Per Child	Total
For one child until 6 years of age	300 forints	300 forints
For one child of a single parent	600 forints	600 forints
For one child, if previously a family allowance was due for two children with the inclusion of this child	600 forints	600 forints
For two children	600 forints	1200 forints
For two children of a single parent	660 forints	1320 forints
For three children	660 forints	1980 forints
For four children	680 forints	2640 forints
For five children	630 forints	3150 forints
For six children	610 forints	3660 forints
For each additional child	610 forints	

Those entitled to receive a family allowance in July 1980 or thereafter for three or more children, and if the number of children dropped to either two or one, will receive a 660-forint family allowance if with the inclusion of these children, they were already eligible for the family allowance. /For one child/, the monthly family allowance is also 660 forints if the parent as a single parent was eligible for a family allowance in the month of July 1980 or thereafter, for two or more children, assuming he or she continues to remain single.

The amount of the monthly family allowance /for the chronically ill/ or the /physically or mentally seriously deficient/ child requiring constant supervision is 810 forints.

#### Child Care Benefits

/If one of two children is chronically ill/ or is either physically or mentally deficient, the total monthly family allowance due is 1470 forints. The amount of the monthly family allowance for a child placed with foster parents under state care is 810 forints.

The mother, or single father, raising a child is /entitled to child care benefits/ if he or she was employed, or a member of an industrial cooperative for at least 270 days within one year prior to the birth of the child or was insured as a cottage industry worker and this legal condition also existed when the child was born. In addition, it also is due if the child is born within 42 days after the termination of the legal condition, or if the child is born 42 days after the termination of the legal condition but while receiving disability or accident benefit payments, or within 28 days after the termination of payments. Daily employment of at least 4 hours or membership in an industrial cooperative may also be calculated into the 270 previous days.

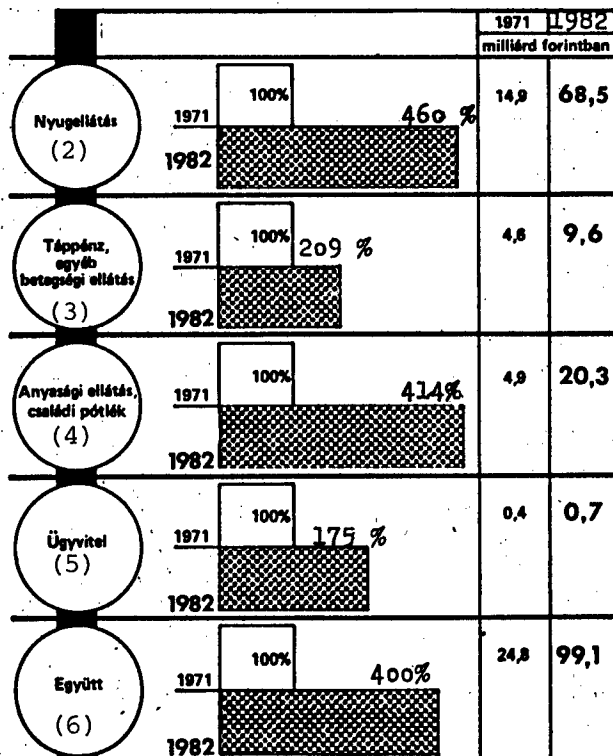
Child care benefits are also due those who /were members of an agricultural cooperative within 2 years directly prior/ to the birth of their child or to those who participated in communal work for at least 90 days on a contractual basis and whose child is born when this legal condition is still in effect. In addition, anyone who finds employment or becomes a member of an industrial-agricultural cooperative within 90 days after completing his studies at the day session of any /school (educational institution) or institution of higher education/ and otherwise satisfies the requirements specified therein is also entitled to child care benefits.

A condition for entitlement to child care benefits for persons in employment (or membership) is /vacation without pay (or remuneration)/. Also entitled to child care benefits are persons who are professional or re-enlisted members of the armed forces or police agencies. Child care benefits are also due for /adopted, step- and foster children/. The child care benefit is due until the child completes his third year, or his sixth year in the event that the child is chronically ill or seriously deficient. The monthly amount is 800 forints for the first child, 900 forints for the second child and 1,000 forints for the third child and each child thereafter. Members of agricultural cooperatives, or family members participating in communal work on a contractual basis, as well



# **A TÁRSADALOMBIZTOSÍTÁS KIADÁSAINAK MEGOSZTLÁSA MAGYARORSZÁGON AZ 1971. ÉS 1982. ÉVBEN**

(1971. év adatait 100%-nak véve) (1)



1982-ben az összes kiadás 99,1 milliárd Ft – ez a nemzeti jövedelem 14,8%-a. (7)

## Key:

1. The Breakdown of Social Insurance Costs in Hungary in 1971 and 1982 [in billions of forints]. (The data for 1971 is considered 100 percent.)
2. Pension
3. Disability Benefits and Other Sick Benefits
4. Maternity Benefits, Family Allowance
5. Administration
6. Total
7. In 1982, the total expenditure was 99.1 billion forints. This represents 14.8 percent of the national income.

as persons employed in agricultural cooperatives receive /100 forints less/ in child care benefits per child.

After the child completes his first year, the /father/ living in a household jointly with the mother /may also use/ child care benefits instead of the mother if he is entitled to them.

The person receiving child care benefits may also assume work after the child is 1 1/2 years old while continuing to receive the full amount of the benefit. However, the work occurring within the framework of employment (or membership) /may not exceed the monthly average of 4 hours a day/.

#### Trade Union Role

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Sep 83 p 9

[Article by Mrs. Karoly Nagy (Dr), deputy director general of the SZOT Social Insurance General Administration: "The Role of the Trade Unions in Social Insurance"; passages enclosed in slantlines were printed in italics]

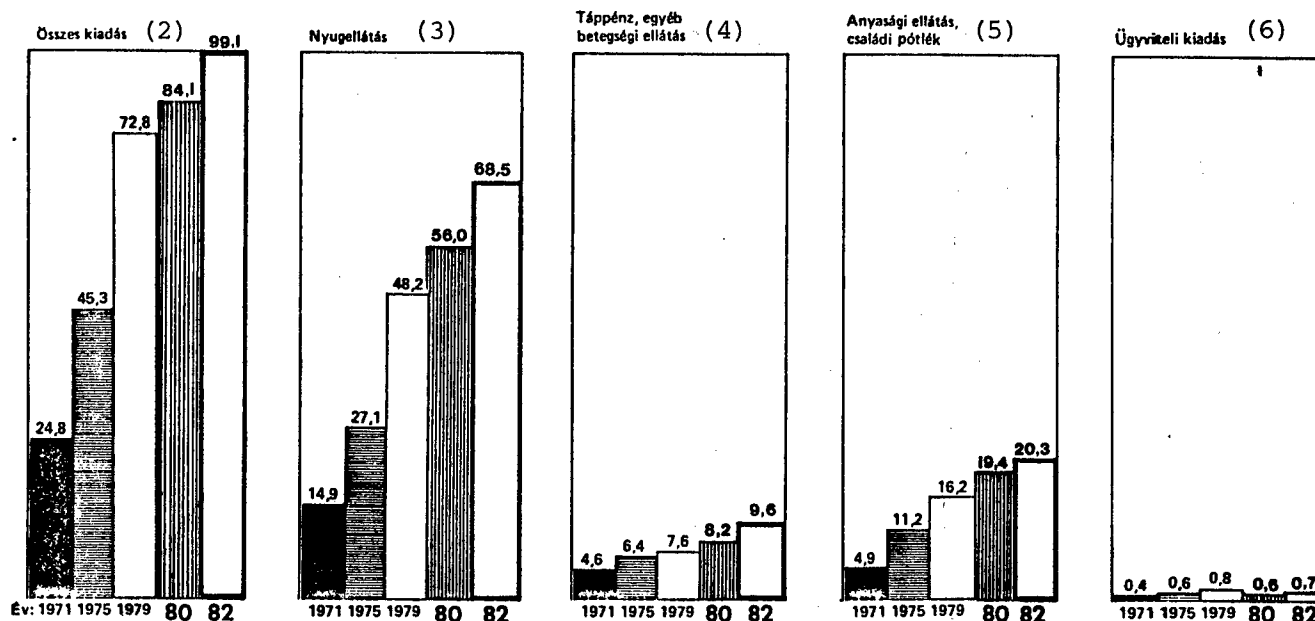
[Text] In 1950, when trade unions received authorization to provide workers' social insurance, they could only rely on earlier traditions. They had to develop a social insurance which standardized the provisions, and terminated the disadvantageous differentiation among various strata. The goal was the creation of terms and an organizational system which made services more accessible and accelerated the handling of cases. Simultaneously, bodies also developed within the trade union organizations which ensured the assertion of workers' interests.

For this reason, the organizational system of Hungarian social insurance is /strongly decentralized/. There is a /workshop social insurance payment center/ in every workshop or institution where there are at least 100 workers. Gradually, /social insurance councils were elected/ in these workplaces and further, in those where the highest body of the workshop trade union organization considered it warranted. Today there are already workshop social insurance payment centers in approximately 5,700 workplaces (almost 94 percent of the workplaces), and in almost 5,000 workshops, the trade union committees elected /social insurance councils/ as their labor committees. In the mid-level organs of the trade union movement, social insurance councils were also established in the county councils of the trade unions, and in local offices, /sub-committees/ of the social insurance committees were established.

/Significant progress has also taken place lately in agricultural and industrial cooperatives/. More than 70 percent of their members and employees may receive their benefits on site.

/Naturally, it was not possible to decentralize the determination of pensions and their payment in this manner./ This is performed by the county social insurance administration and branch offices, and payments are centrally effected

## A TÁRSADALOMBIZTOSÍTÁS KIADÁSAINAK ALAKULÁSA (MILLIÁRD FORINTBAN) (1)



Key:

1. The Formation of Social Insurance Expenses (in Billions of Forints)
2. Total Expense
3. Pension
4. Disability Benefits and Other Sick Benefits
5. Maternity Benefits, Family Allowance
6. Administrative Expense

by the /Pension Payment Administration/.

#### On Time, Quickly and Legally

The trade union organizations fulfill /significant interest-safeguarding and representational functions/ during the course of their activities. They represent the interests of the workers when they are handling individual cases or when they present an opinion in the interests of the workers of certain groups, strata or branches of industry, and when /they initiate measures/ and participate in their implementation. For example, they examine and analyze the development of social insurance benefits and their standards, initiate the resolution of problems and put forth proposals for further development.

They ensure that /the insured receive all that they are entitled to on time and quickly, in accordance with legal specifications/. They regularly oversee the work of those who ex officio handle the social insurance matters of the workers. They regularly and attentively monitor the situations of the elderly, of the disabled, and ever more intensively, those whose work capability has changed, and further, of large families, those raising their children alone, those receiving child care allowances, etc. They initiate various measures to improve their livelihood. In addition to financial benefits, /they organize, in collaboration with tens of thousands of trade union officials, /the activities relating to the aid /the elderly depend on as a result of their illness or disability/.

One of the goals of the trade union movement is to make social insurance develop /in harmony with the prevailing national economic situation/, and to also guarantee a secure existence for the elderly and to those who for reasons of health, may no longer participate in active productive work. Its other goal is to also /provide aid/ with its instruments of social insurance /for the development of a harmonious family life which is increasingly freer of financial concerns/ and for the amelioration of child-rearing concerns.

#### With Special Attention

In our social system, /pensioners deserve special attention/ who with their work of several decades created the preconditions for living in suitable financial and social security even in their old age. This however, has /still not been achieved today/. Therefore, it is of great importance for the trade unions to also strive to make preparations for retirement and for /the enterprise, workshop and economic agencies, along with the trade union organizations to carry out retirement preparations/ on ever /higher standards/. And in the present-day difficult economic situation, it is even more important that they monitor the living conditions of pensioners more carefully and attentively. Today this has already provided numerous good experiences throughout the country. The trade union organizations in collaboration with social organizations carry out /genuine measures to improve the situation of the elderly./

Nor could the cooperation of the trade unions in /creating healthy and safe working conditions/ for the workers and in the workers' health protection, the

visiting and support of the sick, and in the careful monitoring of workplaces hazardous to health be ignored. At the same time, with the methods and /instruments of training and information/, they strive for /everyone to know their rights and obligations/.

### The Possibility of Evaluation

Within the social insurance system, it is the right of the trade unions to decide /disputed issues/ related to the determination and payment of social insurance benefits. This right is possessed by the social insurance councils elected in the workplace which may decide disputed issues related to the workplace social insurance benefits payment center along with the pension determination decisions and payments made by the SZMTK social insurance committees (and subcommittees).

It is even worth separately mentioning the possibility that when a social insurance regulation makes the payment of benefits no longer possible, it may also reinstate the benefits in a specially warranted case /by examining the conditions and social situation of the petitioner./

The workshop social insurance councils and the county social insurance committees take a position in many disputed cases and appeals. Thus, for example, in 1982 /they brought decisions in the cases of almost 25,000 people./ (The majority of these were pension appeals.)

However, the large number of appeals does not mean that the administration is faulty. The social insurance law provides that, for example, the pension determining administration which set the pension may not take into consideration the length of service necessary to set pensions and conditions to be appreciated; this may only be done by the social insurance committees.

On the basis of the experience of the past few years, /the workers of/ the social insurance /administrations and branch offices as well as the workshop administrators possess the necessary political and professional preparedness./ This is indicated by the fact that their clients--aside from a few exceptions--may experience prepared, quick and straightforward procedures. These methods did not develop so by themselves. This was contributed to by the /joint work developed over several decades of trade union officials and activists/.

As a result of the joint work and the training system, the trade union officials and activists /have acquired more and more professional knowledge/ and the administrators have adopted a humane spirit. This is how the unity between the administrative work and the activities of the trade union movement came about. Therefore, praise is due the /approximately 25,000 elected officials/ of the social insurance councils and committees and the network of activists having /more than 100,000 members/.

### The Importance of Education

Teaching and further education presents /an increasingly more difficult task/ in the trade union movement and in its teaching institutions. Namely, we must

absolutely take into consideration the fact that the officials and activists perform their tasks /almost entirely in social work/. Therefore, in their training, topics must be presented which make them suitable representatives of workers' issues and simultaneously also ensure the appearance of constantly changing and timely issues in the course work.

In the practical training system of the officials, the activists, the workers in the social insurance apparatus and the workshop social insurance administrators, a /close cooperation/ has developed between the workers of the trade union organizations and the apparatus concerning agitation and propaganda work. The members of the social insurance apparatus actively participate in training and further educating activists, and the trade unions aid the performance of social insurance tasks with the instruments of their own movement.

This is all the more important because /it is not possible to perform/ the social insurance activities of trade unions /according to a predetermined pattern/. Each workplace, branch of industry or geographical area has its own specific attributes and the requirements of social insurance work vary.

The Hungarian social insurance system comprehensively ensures that workers /either directly, or indirectly through the social insurance councils elected by them/, participate in the formulation, implementation and supervision of the tasks. Today it is already frequently observable that trade union organizations discuss timely issues with the inclusion of their officials and activists. This is also useful because the participants in the deliberations become more familiar with the issues on the agenda and /their sense of responsibility increases/ along with the formulation of their viewpoints; they have an opportunity to mention mistakes and they may initiate the possibilities for solution.

Therefore, this work requires a constant enlargement of knowledge and /increased prudence/ during its course from both officials as well as administrators. Only with methods such as these will we be able to fulfill the expectations demanded of us.

#### Health Care

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Sep 83 p 9-10

[Article by Dr Gyorgy Rajz, health care department head of the SZOT Social Insurance General Administration: "Preventive Health Care, Treatment and Rehabilitation"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] The tasks relating to preventive health care of the trade unions were formulated by the SZOT congress, the resolutions of the SZOT presidium and secretariat, the congress of trade union branches of industry and at the SZMT delegates conference. The middle-level and grass roots organizations develop their preventive health care activities on the basis of these resolutions while taking local characteristics into consideration. Simultaneously with the II. Law of 1975 regarding social insurance, Paragraph 25 of the II. Law of 1972 came into effect, which pronounced the utilization of treatment

**NYUGDÍJBAN – JÁRADÉKBAN  
RÉSZESÜLŐK LÉTSZÁMA  
ÉS A NYUGDÍJKIADÁSOK  
ALAKULÁSA (1950–1982) (1)**

(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Év	Nyugdíjban, járadékban részesülők száma év végén (fő)	Nyugdíjban, járadékban részesülők aránya az összlakosságon belül az év végén (%)	Évi nyugdíj kiadás (millió Ft)
1950	389 100	4,1	927
1971	1 535 000	14,8	14 873
1972	1 608 000	15,4	16 876
1973	1 683 000	16,1	20 295
1974	1 748 000	16,6	23 305
1975	1 802 000	17,0	27 103
1976	1 871 000	17,6	32 270
1977	1 928 000	18,1	36 312
1978	1 974 000	18,4	40 016
1979	2 018 000	18,8	48 258
1980	2 082 000	19,4	55 979
1981	2 131 000	19,9	61 184
1982	2 176 000	20,3	68 541

Az adatok tartalmazzák a nem társadalombiztosítási jellegű tartós ellátásokat is (pl. hadigondozási járadék, családi segély stb.)

A nyugdíjas, járadékos létszám évről évre emelkedik

- a foglalkoztatottság,
- az átlag életkor növekedése és
- a biztosítottak körének bővülése

következtében (6)

1971. évhez képest a nyugdíjas-járadékos létszám 641 000 fővel (41,8%), a nyugdíjkiadás 53 668 millió forinttal (360,8-  
kal emelkedett. (7)

Key:

1. The Number of People Receiving Pensions and Allowances and the Formation of Pension Costs (1950–1982)
2. Year
3. The number of people receiving pensions and allowances at the year's end
4. The proportion of people receiving pensions and allowances within the total population at the year's end (%)
5. Yearly pension costs (X 1 million forints)

[Key continued on following page]

[Continuation of key on preceding page]

6. The data also contains permanent benefits of a non-social insurance nature (i.e., veteran's benefits, family allowance, etc.).

The number of people receiving pensions and allowances is increasing from year to year as a result of:

- employment;
- increase in the average life expectancy; and
- expansion of the circle of the insured.

7. Compared to 1971, the number of people receiving pensions and allowances increased by 641,000 (41.8%), and pension costs increased by 53,668 million forints (360.8%).

**SZAKSZERVEZETI  
TÁRSADALOMBIZTOSÍTÁSI  
TEVÉKENYSÉGGEL FOGLALKOZÓ  
AKTIVISTÁK SZÁMA (1)**



Key:

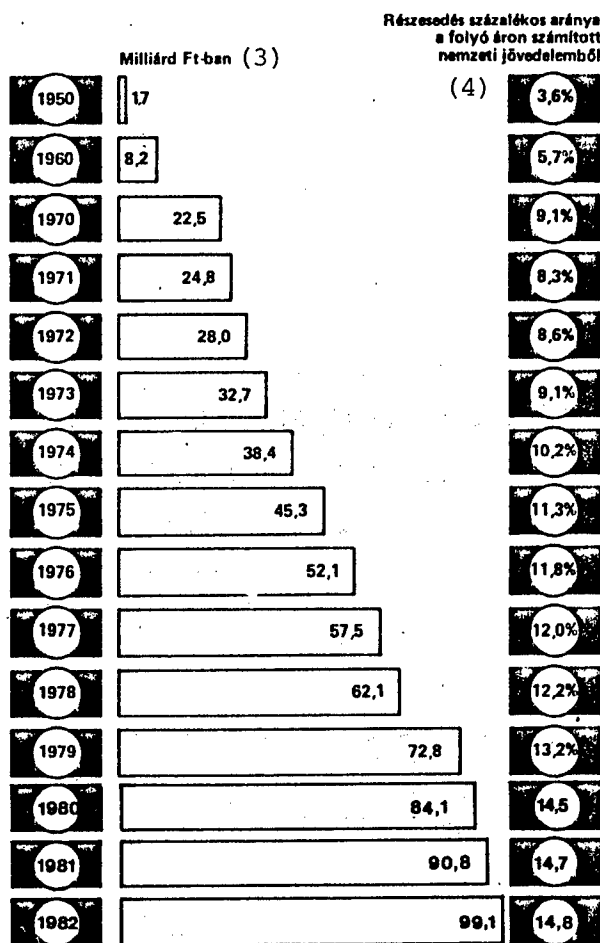
1. The number of activists dealing with trade union social insurance activities
2. The number of activists working in the field of social insurance:



## A TÁRSADALOMBIZTOSÍTÁS ÖSSZES KIADÁSAINAK ALAKULÁSA

(1950-1982) (1)

A nemzeti jövedelemből a társadalombiztosításra fordított összeg (2)



Key:

1. The Formation of the Total Costs of Social Insurance (1950-1982)
2. The amount of the national income allocated for social insurance
3. In billions of forints
4. The percentage of participation calculated at the current rate of the national income

### AZ EGÉSZSÉGÜGYI ELLÁTÁS FONTOSABB ADATAI (1950-1982) (1)

EV (2)	ORVOSOK SZÁMA (FŐ) (3)	EBBŐL KÖRZETI ORVOS (FŐ) (4)	10 000 LAKOSRA JÚTÓ ORVOSOK SZÁMA (FŐ) (5)	SZAKORVOSI RENDELŐ ÓRAK SZÁMA NAPONTA (6)	MŰKÖDŐ KÓRHÁZI ÁGYAK SZÁMA (db) (7)	10 000 LAKOSRA JÚTÓ MŰKÖDŐ KÓRHÁZI ÁGYAK SZÁMA (db) (8)
1950	10 229	-	11,0	6 270	62 326	65,8
1975	27 055	3801	25,6	36 890	90 180	85,3
1976	27 810	3862	26,2	37 000	91 758	85,5
1977	28 392	3902	26,6	37 300	92 363	86,6
1978	29 131	3958	27,2	37 600	92 497	86,5
1979	29 700	3969	27,7	38 200	93 007	86,8
1980	30 842	4 050	28,8	37 177	93 199	87,0
1981	31 623	4 127	29,5	37 529	94 510	88,2
1982	32 476	4 191	30,4	38 003	95 870	89,5

Key:

1. More Important Data Concerning Health Care Provisions (1950-1982)
2. Year
3. Number of doctors
4. Of this, the number that are district doctors
5. Number of doctors per 10,000 inhabitants
6. Daily number of office hours of specialized doctors
7. Number of operational hospital beds
8. Number of operational hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants

and preventive provisions are a civic right. Of outstanding importance in this work is the 11 September 1979 resolution of the political committee of the MSZMP which defined the major tasks of developing health care provisioning.

### Social Supervision

These important documents demanded /even more responsible work/ of the trade unions and social insurance. The responsibility of the trade unions did not change with the enactment of the civic right, but the work methods and cooperative relations with the organizations directing health care changed and became more effective. A good example of this is the system of pharmaceutical-therapeutic auxiliary aid which is now under the aegis of the Ministry of Health instead of social insurance; however, /the trade unions will continue to aid and monitor the benefits/.

The social insurance and preventive health care work of the trade unions is performed by the SZOT Social Insurance General Administration, partly through its state health care service and partly with other trade union organizations. The chief administration together with the SZOT and Ministry of Health initiates and coordinates in the interests of perfecting the quality of workers' preventive health care and sick benefits and terminating deficiencies. On health care issues affecting the population, it collaborates on the organization, planning as well as development with analyses, proposals, standpoints and professional supervision. It examines the financial results of professional treatment /and attentively monitors the development of illnesses/. It supervises the expedient and legal allocation of social insurance-health care services and it attentively follows and studies the /health care-related initiatives/ of workers and trade unions. It aids and supervises the health protection of industrial and agricultural workplaces; it participates in realizing rehabilitation.

The professional direction and content of the health care and preventive health care work is the domain of the General Administration's health care department with the participation of supervisory chief physicians, in close cooperation with trade union activists and members of other professional areas. /Effective joint work is proceeding between the labor safety and vacation organizations the SZOT/ primarily in the prevention of illness and accidents and in the interests ensuring the preventive health care of workers in factories.

A significant part of our work is the /social supervision of health care institutions/.

### Towards the Perfection of Industrial Health Care

Our goal is to become convinced as to the /extent to which the health care institution realizes the basic principles of socialist health care/ and the extent to which it utilizes and needs the activities and aid of the trade union organizations. According to observations, the health care directors and workers /value and need/ social supervision of a helping nature which naturally does not or could not replace professional supervision/.

The goal of /industrial health care service/ is of another nature which has the task of protecting the health of workers, preventing injuries and illness, the creation of healthy and safe working conditions and the medical treatment and care of workers. The trade unions join them with the specific instruments of social insurance and /with professional and financial participation/. They regularly monitor industrial health care and the quality of the social insurance provisioning by way of the organization and the central directorship of industrial branch-sectorial trade unions. Their viewpoints and observations are realized in the practical activities of the county committees and workplace trade union committees in the form of proposals and directives.

The trade unions of Budapest and the county councils direct preventive health care activities of the trade union organizations in their jurisdiction; their agreement is necessary for the establishment of workshop health care service and physicians are needed for the right of granting work disability judgments. In addition, they direct the social insurance committees which likewise monitor both the working conditions and health care provisions with special attention. The trade union committees, affiliated social insurance councils and the health care subcommittees have similar duties.

The trade unions of industrial branches (sectors) as well as the SZMTs [Trade Union Workers' Councils] receive significant help from the trade union social insurance chief supervisory doctors who /cooperate with the officials/ and activists within the framework of professional direction. A manifestation of this is the arrangement of /medical-technical conferences/ with the purpose of having the technical directors also view the workshops with something of a medical eye and of having the workshop doctors adopt a suitable technical attitude. Our organizations primarily assume tasks within the framework of industrial health care but /also in health care education/. The accelerated lifestyle and the enormous bounds in technical development require /greater campaigning with respect to the individual/; the possibilities presented by physical education, exercise in the workplace, beneficial use of free time and mental hygiene must be better utilized.

/Rehabilitation likewise requires the coordinated work of numerous state and social agencies/. Trade union associations attempt to genuinely deal with this. They consider as their main task the aiding of the rehabilitation process, by extensively ensuring /the protection of those with changed working capabilities/. The health care network and the trade union committees have a fundamental role in this. The essence of their work is /the preparation of a list of workplaces suitable for employment/, the supervision of workplace hiring as well as the assurance of transfers to other enterprises, etc. Another important agit-prop task of the committee's trade union representative is to /enlighten the workers concerning their rights and responsibilities regarding rehabilitation/.

The Social Insurance General Administration has an initiating role /in the legal regulations concerning rehabilitation/ and in working out plans. According to the newest decree, the determination of temporary benefits to non-rehabilitatable individuals with changed work capabilities and the determination of the regular social benefits is the task of the Social Insurance Directorates (branch

offices) and making the payments is the task of the Pension Payment Directorate.

It is generally known that /the amount of the benefits increases from year to year/. Last year it exceeded 8 billion forints. The trade unions, social insurance and health care agencies regularly and /attentively monitor and analyze the situation of benefits recipients/. The overwhelming reason for the increase /is the total lack of employer interestedness/, the lax illness supervision and the low standard of rehabilitation.

#### Benefits and What Stand Behind Them

From the viewpoint of medical work, it is most important to know /what groups of illnesses are most likely to influence the situation of the benefits recipient./ These are heart and circulatory diseases, motor disorders, accidents--especially workplace injuries--and diseases of the digestive tract. All these underline the importance of complex screening examinations and care.

The yearly SZOT-Ministry of Health conferences represent the joint work of the trade unions and the state health care service. On the county level, the action committees fulfill the coordinative-cooperative role between the state health care service and the social agencies--according to defined principles of operation. The essence of their work /is to promote the implementation of regulations regarding health care/ in the treatment and prevention provisions of the population; in addition, they support industrial and labor health care development and examine the effectiveness of social insurance services. /Environmental protection and ethical tasks/ also receive a place on the agendas of the action committees.

In the sense of the 17 April 1971 SZOT resolution--which aimed at further developing the movement's directorship system--we would like to strengthen the social insurance activities of the industrial branch (sectorial) trade unions connected to health care activities, especially with regard to /workplace preventive health care of agricultural workers/. In the interests of solidifying discipline in the area of benefits, a wide-ranging examination took place jointly with the Ministry of Health this year, and on the basis of the analysis, proposals are being worked out /in the interests of maintaining a realistic standard for benefits recipients/. In the area of rehabilitation, the goal of the newest cabinet resolution is to aid and cooperate with the OOSZI [?] in genuinely handling the affairs of the disabled. We are intensifying cooperation between the worker protection department of SZOT and the Vacation and Sanatorium General Administration in the interests of preventing illnesses and averting accidents. We wish to provide more theoretical and practical aid to officials and activists regarding health care and /to raise the quality of the professional work of our supervisory chief doctors/ and of practical activities in the interest of achieving the high-quality performance of increased tasks.

#### Working Abroad

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Sep 83 p 10

[Article by Mrs Gyorgy Tenner (Dr), SZOT Social Insurance General Administration department head: "Insurance Abroad Too"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] Social insurance coverage does not only extend to citizens working in Hungary. The goal of the international social policy agreements is to insure that citizens retain their social insurance rights even if they reside in a country with which we have concluded a social policy agreement.

Between 1957 and 1962, the Hungarian Peoples Republic concluded social policy agreements with Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. In this respect, the principle rule is that the time spent in the partner country while covered by insurance /is taken into consideration as service time when calculating pensions/, i.e., when examining entitlement to individual social insurance benefits, it is considered as time spent under Hungarian insurance coverage. Naturally, the agreements not only cover social insurance but also labor rights and, in certain respects, questions /of health care provisioning/.

Hungary concluded labor-cooperation agreements /promoting work performed abroad/ with the GDR and Cuba. In the framework of the GDR labor-cooperation agreement, Hungarian skilled workers work in the GDR, and in the framework of the Cuban agreement, Cuban skilled workers work in Hungary. The guiding principle of the agreements is that short-term social insurance services (sick benefits, pregnancy-maternity allowances, etc.) are provided by the host country, and the long-term services (old-age, disability, relatives' pensions) are provided by the guest country on the basis of its own internal regulations.

In general, those working as permanent foreign delegates or with an individual labor permit /belong under the jurisdiction of Hungarian social insurance/ and pay premiums and receive services as set forth in the social insurance law. The quality of their benefits is guaranteed by the domestic laws, but it is an important interest that they also receive local benefits on the basis of agreements concluded with the insurance institutions of the foreign partner.

Abroad, health care provisions are generally connected to the legal condition of social insurance; therefore, the remuneration for the costs of medical treatment which arise during the course of work abroad is the task of social insurance.

With the strengthening of Hungary's foreign economic relations, /the insurance of those performing work abroad has become an important area of social insurance/. In the long run, the method of solution with the foreign countries or their insuring institutions is the formation and development of new forms of cooperation --with attention to mutual interests.

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CSO: 2500/64

## HUNGARY

### REGULATIONS FOR TRAVEL, IMMIGRATION OUTLINED

Budapest KINCSES KALENDARIUM in Hungarian 1984 p 312

[Article by Dr Imre Antal: "Legal Advisor"]

[Text] The purpose of the KINCSES KALENDARIUM Legal Advisor column continues to be to inform its readers of the most important statutory changes that might affect them and to discuss problems which concern our compatriots.

Effective January 1983 there have been some changes in the regulations which govern travel to Hungary and settlement in our country. Since there has been great interest in this subject we will not only discuss the changes but will also examine other related regulations.

#### Visit to Hungary

Under the heading, visit--in other words travel--to Hungary we will discuss those regulations which apply to aliens wishing to travel to and stay in Hungary for a given length of time.

First of all we need to define who is considered an alien. The general rule is that any person who is not a Hungarian citizen and whose permanent residence is outside the territory of Hungary and who, therefore, is only on a temporary visit in our country is an alien. However, the definition of an alien also includes those who hold Hungarian citizenship but use a foreign passport to apply for their entry visa and for the permit granting them temporary residence in our country. From the point of view of travel and temporary residence the same regulations apply to both categories of individuals.

#### Conditions of Entry

In order for an alien to be allowed to enter into Hungary he must hold a valid passport, containing proof of his citizenship (or expatriation) and personal identity as well as a visa or residence permit issued by the Hungarian authorities. Even after

the above documents have been obtained, crossing the state border is permitted only at the designated border crossing points.

#### Visa, Residence Permit

The most common type of permit authorizing entry into the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic is the visa. There are entry and transit visas.

The entry visa entitles its holder to remain on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic temporarily, for a specific length of time. The length of stay to which an alien holding a visa is entitled is 30 days. Upon request this period may be extended for up to 1 year. A transit visa, however, is only valid for 48 hours. This period must be computed from the time of crossing the border.

Visa applications must be submitted on the standard form designed for this purpose, along with two 4X4 cm photographs. The visa is issued upon payment of a determined fee which is payable at the time the application is submitted.

Visa applications may be submitted to any foreign representative organ of the Hungarian People's Republic abroad as well as to the various border guard organs operating at highway, air and Danubian border crossings open for passenger travel. Once in Hungary, petitions for extension may be submitted to the National Central Office of Alien Registration in the capital city (Budapest, VI., Rudas Laszlo St. 45.) or to the appropriate county police headquarters in the provinces.

The submitted petition must be acted upon immediately or within not longer than 24 hours. Should this become a problem the petitioner must be informed when he can expect a decision.

Entry visas may be issued for one-time or repeated entries. The visa can only be used within the validity period specified in it. The validity period must not exceed 1 year.

No visa is required for entering or travelling through Hungary if the person is the citizen of a country which has a visa exemption agreement with Hungary. As of this time Austria is the only western country with which we have such an agreement.

Residence permits entitle their holders to remain on the territory of our country for periods exceeding 1 year. Residence permits may be requested at any Hungarian foreign representative organ abroad, according to the same conditions that were discussed under visa applications.



## Extension

Petitions for the extension of visas and residence permits must be submitted by not less than 48 hours prior to their expiration. Petitions for extension must be submitted in writing. The petition must indicate the purpose and the reasons for requesting the extension to stay. In evaluating the petition the acting authority may--if it considers it necessary--call on the alien to provide proof of financial security and of his reasons for wishing to stay in the country.

The length of stay may be extended

- a. by any central police station on a one-time basis and for not longer than 30 days,
- b. by the capital city or county police headquarters on a repeated basis but for not longer than 1 year from the time of entry,
- c. and by the National Central Office of Alien Registration which may grant extensions even beyond the above.

## Registration

Once they have entered Hungary all aliens must register at the precinct or central police station of their place of stay within 24 hours.

Registration and changes of address must be done on the standard entry and exit forms designed for this purpose. These may be purchased at our post offices and travel bureaus. The registration and deregistration of guests staying in hotels, camping resorts, paying guest accommodations, etc. is the duty of the host.

## Expulsion

Aliens staying within the territory of our country may be expelled if their stay in the country has been determined to be detrimental to the interests of our state or to public safety. The expulsion ruling must specify the time and place of departure. The ruling is not subject to appeal and may be carried out by force.

Persons whose residence permit has been revoked must leave the country within 48 hours.

Persons who have been expelled or whose residence permit has been revoked must wait 1 year before they can reenter the territory of our country.

Perhaps the above described regulations appear harsh and complicated. Therefore, we would like to remind our readers that they are in full accordance with international regulations and practice.

One regulation which appears to be especially harsh is the one concerning expulsion and the revocation of residence permits. Naturally, these steps are only resorted to in cases where the laws and statutory regulations of the Hungarian People's Republic have been violated. Here we would like to point out and remind everyone visiting Hungary that within the territory of our country Hungarian laws and regulations must be observed by all aliens. These also include our often contested customs and traffic regulations.

### Repatriation, Permanent Settlement

What the two definitions mentioned in this heading have in common is that in both cases the petitioners wish to establish permanent residence in Hungary. The difference is that while people wishing to be repatriated apply to be granted permanent residence in Hungary as Hungarian citizens, those who come here to settle request permanent residence (settlement permit) without Hungarian citizenship.

### Submitting the Petition for Repatriation

Petitions for repatriation may be submitted to any Hungarian foreign representative organ abroad by filling out the form issued by our foreign representatives. The permit granted in the case of a favorable decision may be issued for 6 months or 1 year, however, this period may be extended upon request. Before the competent Hungarian authorities can approve the repatriation--even if all other conditions have been met--the petitioner must prove that his livelihood (proof of income) and his Hungarian residence (guarantee of residence) have been assured.

### Proof of Income

If the petitioner has not reached retirement age then in order to meet the above requirement it is generally sufficient for the petitioner to sign a statement to the effect that he wishes to take up employment in Hungary. Otherwise he must attach some proof of pensionability to his petition. As for whether or not the pensions of people wishing to be repatriated to Hungary would be forwarded to Hungary, the expedient thing to do is to consult in advance with the pension-paying agency.

Those who wish to return home also have the option of signing a life-annuity insurance agreement with the State Insurance Enterprise for a one-time payment made in convertible currency. The amount of the payment depends on the age of the claimant and on the amount of the requested monthly allowance. Further information may be obtained at any branch office of the State Insurance Enterprise upon presentation of the necessary data. The

following is the address of the central customer service department of the State Insurance Enterprise: Budapest, IX., Ulloi St. 1/3. Upon authorization the General Value Exchange Bank can also offer life insurance agreements.

We should mention here that in Hungary every Hungarian citizen is entitled to free medical and preferential pharmaceutical services.

#### Guarantee of Residence

A place of residence in Hungary may be guaranteed either by way of a sponsorship statement or by purchase.

In a sponsorship statement the Hungarian sponsor must state that he will accept the person wishing to be repatriated into his home. The statement must be made at the management division of the local council responsible for the area of the sponsor's place of residence where it is documented. This statement must be attached to the petition for repatriation.

If the repatriating individual wishes to secure a place of residence by purchase, he must obtain a permit from the Central Corporation of Banking Companies. According to the statutory provisions presently in effect the only way a person whose permanent residence is located abroad can receive a permit to purchase real estate is if he has been granted a repatriation or a settlement permit. Even then, however, he can only purchase an apartment or a house which is enough to satisfy his housing needs. He is not allowed to purchase a vacation home. The purpose of this regulation has been to prevent unjustifiable purchases of our limited units of real estate.

The above restrictions notwithstanding, our compatriots may, according to the conditions laid down by our foreign exchange authorities, purchase real estate for residential purposes even before their repatriation. For more detailed information regarding this matter consult with the Central Corporation of Banking Companies.

Real estate may be purchased on the free market, from the National Savings Bank or from our real estate marketing enterprise, the Immobilia Corporation.

#### Customs Regulations Concerning Repatriation

At the time of their repatriation returning individuals may bring into Hungary possessions which are necessary for maintaining their household or practicing their profession and also 1 passenger vehicle. Provided that it is needed for practicing his profession and that its volume does not exceed the levels found in domestic

small industry, he may also bring in some industrial equipment. These concessions are granted to people who had lived in Hungary and left the country by permission but decided, after a period of more than a year abroad, to return to our country. They are also granted to people who had left Hungary without permission but since have come under general amnesty and, therefore, are returning to the territory of this country by permission.

Covered by the general amnesty are those persons who had left Hungary without permission prior to 22 March 1963.

In view of the fact that certain commodities fall under special customs regulations we recommend that before returning home our compatriots find out about them, especially as they apply to gold, jewelry and coins either from the General Value Exchange Bank or directly from the National Command of the Customs and Internal Revenue Police (1051. Budapest, V., Szent Istvan Square 11/b).

We recommend, furthermore, that at the time of crossing the border they prepare a list of the personal effects they are bringing with them and present it to the appropriate customs organs so that on the basis of that list the customs authority can verify that the goods they brought in are custom-free. This may become especially important later should they try to sell these personal effects. For in order to sell them they will have to show that they have been cleared by customs.

#### Liquidating Property Left Behind

Occasionally there may be cases where before the actual completion of their repatriation, for financial or business reasons some of our returning compatriots are not able to liquidate their foreign assets. After their return home, especially in the case of overseas countries, the process becomes difficult. In such cases we recommend that they turn to the General Value Exchange Bank with confidence, for it has the necessary expertise and foreign legal contacts to be of assistance in solving such complex problems.

#### Settling in Hungary

Foreign citizens who wish to settle in our country permanently first must request a visa in order to make preparations for the settlement. The visa application must be submitted on the standard questionnaire designed for this purpose to a Hungarian foreign representative organ operating in the country of the applicant's place of residence.

The following must be attached to the application:

--a birth certificate

--if the applicant is married, a marriage certificate,

--a citizenship certificate,

--a statement of acceptance and support signed by the sponsoring Hungarian citizen and witnessed by the authorities, and the document showing the residence and future livelihood of the alien in Hungary,

--a proof of consent and a statement from the respective foreign authorities agreeing to supply the applicant with a passport that is valid for at least 3 years which also entitles him to return.

Exemptions from the requirement to submit the above described documents may be granted by the National Central Office of Alien Registration.

#### Requesting the Settlement Permit

Petitions for a settlement permit may be submitted by any alien who had received a visa to make preparations for his settlement and have spent at least 2 years in Hungary. The petition must be submitted to the police headquarters responsible for the area where the petitioner's residence is located. The settlement permit may be revoked. The rejection of a petition for settlement and the revocation of the settlement permit may be appealed to the Ministry of Interior.

Aliens who have been granted a settlement permit are supplied with personal identification papers designed for this purpose. All subsequent changes of address must be reported according to the same regulations which apply to Hungarian citizens.

The regulations concerning the residence and livelihood in Hungary of petitioners requesting permission to settle here and the rules which govern their documentation are the same as the ones we have described under repatriation.

9379

CSO:2500/202

POLAND

WALESA PREDICTS VICTORY FOR SOLIDARITY

Vienna PROFIL in German No 1, Jan 84 pp 32-37

[Interview with Lech Walesa, Peace Nobel Prize laureate, by Helmut Voska (date and place of interview not provided): "There Will Still Be Many Victims"]

[Text] [Question] All formality aside, how are you doing?

[Answer] If one has so many friends, one cannot be doing too badly. If one has some enemies, one has to think of them, too.

[Question] Can you still laugh?

[Answer] Of course. Life has become so tough that we must not add to our troubles. All the many problems we are having cannot deprive me of my cheerfulness. My philosophy of life is that problems are there to be solved. I would feel bad if I did not have so many problems. Life must be lived, not suffered. To live means to stand up for oneself. To live means always having to seek and choose. Whether I will succeed in this is an entirely different matter. And whether I can successfully cope precisely with the problems in the time in which I live is another question again. But I am trying. Each era has its own inevitabilities and difficulties. Whether they were resolved well or poorly only history will show. What you call good today might tomorrow, in historic retrospect, be called bad.

[Question] Do you sometimes weep?

[Answer] No, except when I am cutting onions or grating horseradish. Every person is likely to go through changes of mood. But I try not to take life too hard. I have a basic trust in the future. I keep telling myself: the woods were there long before we were, and after we are long gone, the woods will still be there. I am in principle optimistic, and so I do not weep.

[Question] I felt like crying while handing out to Polish children some chocolates and oranges, which are not available here. And that at Christmas 1983, in the midst of Europe.

[Answer] Indeed, you can find something like that also in Poland, in 1983. But then you might also think that what a child experiences is worth more than his getting satiated. We must think in different categories here. For 40 years they have been preaching atheism here, there was no religious freedom. The West at the same time had more freedom. And now we are figuring it out: Where are there more believers? I know an authentic example from the Soviet Union: There they carried a sick grandfather for 70 kilometers to holy communion. In the West, the next church often is only 10 meters away, and people still do not go there. As a devout Christian I am asking myself which is the better life where. Man does not live on bread and sausage alone. I can shed no tears over unavailable oranges.

[Question] One could still shed tears of wrath, however, when one finds that you, Mr. Walesa, could not even give a speech in commemoration of the workers killed by your regime. That thousands of Lenin Shipyard workers were, after hours, led like sheep past the memorial and tight militia lines prevented even silent protest--placing down flowers and putting up candles--did that not infuriate you?

[Answer] One could write furious polemics about that, of course. But we just have opted for nonviolent protest, for fighting with arguments instead of fists.

[Question] Yet your nonviolent protest is leading nowhere, is it?

[Answer] Violence leads nowhere. All I am angry about is that our struggle has thus far not brought it about for us to sit around a table together with the government and there put up our arguments. I am convinced there always is a way out but we cannot always find it. Think of the Wild West: its first historic phase only knew club-law, pistols and violence. Then things gradually changed; there came sheriffs, an administration, law and a constitution. In the large social movements things are the same. In Poland now we are living directly on the borderline between the methods of the 19th century and those that we propose. Before the constitution was respected, many people lost their lives in the Wild West. Until we get our partner to come to the chessboard with us there also will still be many victims.

[Question] Does that make Poland of today the Wild East of the 19th century?

[Answer] Maybe not. In the West too they often still fight with 19th century methods. Every riot ends with drumbeats. Where you are and here. The Wild East is entering a new era. Now we have to use new methods to settle the conflicts in the various states and in the world. The whole world lives in a minefield. So that we do not all perish, we have to help each other in a neighborly way. The various societies have to invent systems that can control the various governments and the international associations. The peoples must be forced to install these systems. The rulers are making a big mistake now: they are signing friendship treaties while with their other hand they are tightening the screws of the nuclear bombs. The people have to see to it that their governments do not keep signing new treaties while breaking the old ones all the time. And we must not wait for someone to do it for us or we will be finished.

[Question] Let us go back to the situation in Poland. Something made me furious: A cab driver took me to your apartment house at Pilotov Street 17D. All streets in your district were besieged with militia and police cars. Water guns and tanks had been moved up, and right in front of the gate of your house there was a car with four detectives. The Peace Nobel Prize laureate is sitting like a rat in the trap of an inhuman regime.

[Answer] I am laughing about it. Not I am afraid of them, they are afraid of me. I only would worry if no one were to be standing there. Then I would have to think: they do not respect me, they do not appreciate me, they do not fear me. The more they are watching me, the more important I am. If I were not dangerous, they would leave me alone.

[Question] That leads me to a sad implication: As a labor leader and a politician, and probably also as a Peace Nobel Prize laureate, you have failed. There is no hope left, no redemption, for you and the Polish people. Poland thus is lost after all. All you have left are two alternatives: emigrating or hanging.

[Answer] Not so. That makes things all too easy. That is like putting a 100-kilo weight in front of a 5-year old boy and then saying: "He'll never make it; he'll never lift it." Once he is grown and has trained well, he'll do it easily. That's the way one has to look at life. Just let me train for 2 more years and then we'll see further.

[Question] But they don't let you train. How can you carry on your political struggle if you cannot even use your VW in front of the door without being followed by a host of spies?

[Answer] I know you, PROFIL and others are now working on my behalf.

[Question] Abroad. Sure. But not in Poland.

[Answer] Ninety percent of the Poles are listening to the foreign station. We are on the way to victory. Jesus Christ was crucified. His death seemed to put an end to everything, and his idea has yet kept alive for 2000 years. It has triumphed, and we too shall triumph. Many at that time collapsed by the road. Many wanted to hang themselves. Many of his disciples thought nothing was left for them except suicide. They fought on and remained victorious. Our ideals are also immortal. The problem is only that of time, and of the price to be paid for them.

[Question] But your struggle will last long. And now you cannot even lead it. You are totally isolated, confined, imprisoned. Our conversation is taking place at a secret spot under the strictest security precautions. You do not know how you will get out of here unscathed. We do not know whether we will manage to get the tapes and films through the militia controls.

[Answer] Yes, but this is the way I win. The people know of my constraints and will fight against them as long as they are there. They are rolling up their sleeves and are fighting on my side. If I were on my own, not isolated and not captured, I would not know how I could do as much as all the Poles are now doing. So it is not such a tragedy. There is always a way out. I am one who seeks--I assure you--and also one who finds.



[Question] There are innumerable monitoring devices in your apartment, intelligence bugs. How can a human being endure that?

[Answer] I am playing along. We know, my wife, Danuta, and I, that every word is being monitored. So we are talking to the devices. I whistle and blow into them.

[Question] Is it not unconscionable in this situation to give people false hopes? From your living room window you just exclaimed to some Walesa fans: "Don't get cold, people, we have a long way ahead of us, but a victorious one." Are you going to live long enough to see the end of that road?

[Answer] You know, I can't leave these people alone. I have to keep motivating them. I must suggest in a coded manner what they are to do. They must hold on to solidarity. In the families, the parishes, the enterprises, the regions. They must, above all, not lose the belief in themselves. The difficulties we have are strengthening us in our fighting spirit. If we had no difficulties, all would lean back and do nothing. I can serve no one settled problems on a silver platter. Solutions must come out of the people and be enforced by the people. If there comes another sly dog who thinks he can manipulate all the people, my fellow countrymen will get his number. They are going to analyze the situation themselves and think all problems through carefully. And we will all come to the same conclusion. That is my goal, and on that I am resting my hopes for victory.

[Question] Maybe the Nobel Prize has returned to you all your old self-confidence. But what can you do with it? While we in the West were thoroughly informed about the award ceremony and the speech by your wife, Danuta, TRYBUNA LUDU thought the event worth four lines on page 3. I did see Danuta on TV. I did not see you.

[Answer] Well, that lies behind you, some day it's going to happen. Some day I am going to get video tapes of the award ceremony and run them off before friends and still enjoy them for 2 years. All will come and look, and we will make copies of them. Everyone will slip them to all in intelligence on the sly, and all will be encouraged by it in their political struggle.

[Question] You have once said: "We want to reach a maximal number of people with our message, whether I am sending it from prison or presenting it on official Polish TV." But that favor you don't get from your regime, neither one way nor the other. Not even a martyr you are allowed to become.

[Answer] You are right there. But shutting up often says more than thousand words. You are too pessimistic. You lack faith in the West, faith in a better future, too.

[Question] Let's look back. Did it have to go this way? Has Solidarity made mistakes before martial law was declared?

[Answer] No, we made no mistakes. But let me ask you now: Did you have to attend first grade in grammar school? We also first had to go through first grade. All social movements initially have to learn to read and write. There are barriers you cannot simply leap over. We too had to start small. Only later you can become an engineer. That was the first necessary sociopolitical phase. To achieve greater goals, we must now seek to cope better with the second phase. We are about to tackle that second phase. And that we shall successfully go through this second phase I have no doubt about.

[Question] In retrospect, would you do everything over again the way you did it?

[Answer] I would and I tell you, why: For 40 years, our people has been under tutelage. In 1956, 1970 and 1978 we resisted that tutelage. But not until 1980 did we take successful counter-measures. Then we had only two alternatives: either negotiations with the authorities or trying to enforce new solutions. Because we were no engineers as yet but first-grade pupils, we did not come up with any engineering solutions. But we learned our lessons from it and also from the state of martial law. Now we can study the situation in quiet. By taking a jump, that would not have been possible. At what other time unless now should we have been preparing solutions and enforcing them. Now we have created order, have dusted off our thought structures and are about to put down a solid foundation in concrete. That's how the Polish situation now looks. Not everybody understands it. Some collapse under the weight of this reconstruction, just as you do, for example, when you are saying Walesa has lost. We are no longer in the 19th century. The machines for building the house have already been invented. We'll show the government tanks and water guns provide no solution. And the government will get the idea that it cannot accomplish anything with such methods.

[Question] Objectively, however, it is undeniable, isn't it, that although the Polish workers are Catholic up to 90 percent, the once 10 million Solidarity membership has meanwhile more or less faded away. Nothing is left of your trade union but a few functionaries forced into illegality. Could that development have been prevented by greater unity in the ranks of the adversaries to the regime?

[Answer] No, my dear friend, I can't agree with you. In the 15th century, you could have conquered the whole world with one tank full of ammunition. In the 20th century, everything is different. Two superpowers are facing each other, the workers' possibilities are limited. Even if there are no demonstrations and strikes now, when the time comes we shall act. One whistle blow, and all will be united. Until then we shall have to think everything through carefully and rehash all our propositions for solutions, to get ready for that situation.

[Question] Let's rehash: A sharp course by Solidarity aiming at the workers' self-administration or even the free market economy under free democratic elections would have caused a Soviet invasion, isn't that so? That was therefore not a practicable way.

[Answer] It didn't come to that, even if you're right. Today it's hard to find out what would have been more favorable then. At any event, we are still alive, can think about it and look for better solutions. The situation compels us to keep thinking about a way.

[Question] The more conciliatory way of keeping up the talks with the state authorities and conducting the struggle, not in the streets, but in the enterprises, Lech Walesa's way, in other words, would that have promised success if it had not been disturbed by more radical forces in the trade union?

[Answer] No. That phase could not have been coped with differently, from the sociopolitical standpoint. But I was already farther ahead in that regard, I had thought farther ahead than my fellow combatants. Even so, you cannot expect of people who have lived for 40 years under that pressure that their attitude should be like my own. Thus far, I have steered this ship without any great losses. And I shall keep steering it. You can make a revolution with tanks and bombs, but you can make it also the way we in Solidarity tried. It depends on whether someone just loves fireworks and thereby risks losses in human lives or champions the peaceful evolutionary path, as I do. Bombs could have fallen, the Polish people could have suffered heavy losses. But all we had were strikes, and our losses were confined. At the start of the 21st century, it seems to me, only the latter form of struggle will still be defensible. That way alone victory is possible. That is something the societies and the dissidents have to learn.

[Question] Have you in the last 3 years been rather a "brakeman" or an "accelerator" of evolutionary development in Solidarity?

[Answer] I have steered a middle course. I have wanted all workers thoroughly to reflect on their political situation. They should learn democracy and seek solutions that help the entire Polish people. I have known from the start we would not achieve any real results in our movement's first 15 months.

[Question] Would it have been sensible, or do you think it sensible today, to accept the invitation from your military dictator Jaruzelski, which says: We want to build bridges so that people can get on our side, the side of socialism." Are you personally on the anti-socialist side or do you want to enter Jaruzelski's bridge some time?

[Answer] Just look at my hands, I am a worker. I have no mind for the big social theories. Life is different from socialist theories written up in all sorts of books. As a man of practice I mainly want practical, that is, good solutions. I know well enough, everyone wants to have as much as possible for himself, and I also know you cannot suggest to him to be working only for others. I should like to build a happy society, made up of happy individuals. Here things were always the other way around. The society was supposed to be happy, the individual did not matter. I want to change that.

[Question] Now there are in Poland neither happy individuals nor an even fairly happy society.

[Answer] I don't know. We Poles sometimes have no good shoes and have no good sausage to eat, but our money also loses its value less quickly. So a Pole is not so sad that he loses a lot because he hasn't got much to lose. But he is sure to be ready to sacrifice himself to doing better one day. In short: He wants and demands more prosperity. It's different with the comfortably rich in the West. They are afraid someone will take things away from them, and they still always want more. I am not so sure whether your or our society is the happier one. You got serious problems too, though they are different. Many among you lose their desire to live, escape into drugs or commit suicide. We don't have that problem. We have no money for drugs.

[Question] In Poland, the drug is called vodka. But back to the workers movement. Last, the name Bujak was exclaimed more often at demonstrations than the name Walesa. Have you already lost your leadership role? And are you jealous?

[Answer] No, I am happy someone is growing up who can then also take my place. Who is on top is not important at all. What the movement wants is important. It will give me pleasure to put my estate in order, yet I shall not quit our movement for convenience. I don't think I'm the smartest or the best. I lend my support to anyone who has better arguments than I. I'm just a little worm; I do not overestimate myself.

[Question] What do you think about the KOR theoreticians Kuron and Michnik?

[Answer] It is not good they were arrested. They are doing time for our cause. We must not forget them. We must do everything to get them released. In political matters my view was often different from theirs. But I know they have done a lot of good. Not only I am much indebted to them. They know they can always count on me.

[Question] Kuron and Michnik, reportedly, have been threatened with several years in prison to motivate them to emigrate. Should they emigrate or perhaps risk lifelong sentences?

[Answer] Everyone has to follow his own conscience. In any case they can count on my support. And in either case I shall try to understand their option.

[Question] Would it hurt your movement if Kuron and Michnik were to leave the country?

[Answer] I would never emigrate. The worse the situation gets in Poland, the more I am needed here at home. Which does not mean that, once my job is finished, I would not attempt to get to know other countries. Yet I shall always remain a Pole.

[Question] How is the average Polish worker doing, how many children has he got, how much does he earn, how does he live? I understand electrician Lech Walesa makes Zl 8,000 in salary and Zl 22,000 in extra pay and subsidies for seven children. That converts into S 1,600 in basic wages and 4,400 in child support.

[Answer] In my estimate, one out of every three Poles lives under the subsistence minimum. After the next price hike, which will probably come in January 1984, it will be two out of every three. And we still won't starve. I won't be able to buy a second pair of shoes. I'll wear the pair I now have to work, walking home from the job, at home, and even to church. Instead of a rug, I'll have a clean floor, instead of a lamp with three bulbs, one with only one. No question, it shouldn't have come to that, considering Poland's great mental and material resources.

[Question] Will the price hikes and cutbacks in food rations again lead to a revolutionary mood among the people?

[Answer] You also are annoyed about your price hikes though you have so much more than we. No one likes price hikes; we are especially afraid, since we've got nothing. And we don't have any wage hikes either. I believe the next price hike will hurt but be minimal. But the following price hike, which will be bigger, is sure to come. The government has so many weapons and tanks it can enforce the toughest price hike. Only that solves no problem. People will be even less willing to do good work. Those then are no methods that could solve our problems. And that's why there will be no progress either.

[Question] Which methods would you have to offer?

[Answer] Solidarity. We at long last have to sit around a table together and find compromises. Without the threats from the tanks we would reach some genuine results. Though I must say the tanks don't impress us much.

[Question] You evade the question which concrete ideas you have for Poland's recovery. You are not saying clearly which social model you are after. So let me try this question: in which country in the world are your political ideas most fully implemented?

[Answer] In no country.

[Question] Then let's take Lech Walesa's dream-state: Does it have democracy and free elections, personal property, even of the means of production, freedom of speech and assembly, the right freely to leave for each, whenever or wherever he wants to go? How will the property relations be settled in that dream-state?

[Answer] I'll tell you what does not suit me in Western policy: There, for reasons of the business cycle, they simply close down coal mines for 5 years and fire the workers, and then they open the mines again. In my dream-state there probably would not be so many unemployed as you now have. But yesterday my temperature was 39 degrees and this morning at 0600 hours I was back at work in the Lenin Shipyards, and you have been tormenting me with your questions for 2 hours by now. When I get home now, I'd better enter the door backward. Danuta is likely to throw her cooking pots at me.

[Question] Three questions still, Mr. Walesa. Would you agree if the Poles were decreed this political program: The peasants are freed from the bondage of the forced collective. The workers, from the serfdom to communist factory

bosses who withhold their fair wages from them and still make no profits simply because the CP bureaucrats cannot manage the economy. In other words: An improvement can come only after the overthrow of the ruling communist class and the corruption-prone central planning system.

[Answer] No, with that program I don't agree. Conditions have to be created where thinking peasants and thinking workers run their enterprises themselves. I shall paraphrase what the Pope has said much more impressively: Only through the share of his own work does a worker share in the ownership of his factory. He must have this sense of ownership. He must fully agree to the distribution of the profits or the losses. He must have the chance to express suggestions for improvements and criticism. And if he is right, those suggestions must then also be implemented. A worker today is no longer uneducated. That is why he is right to ask for influence on public life. No social model is in every way superior to another. Your private economy and our collective model, both have advantages and disadvantages. Yet we must surely not forget that everyone is and wants to be private on his own terms. And he must not be restrained in that. Systems have to be created in which the individual feels good even in private. It is surely inconceivable for one individual to reserve a whole train for himself privately while others have to walk on foot. They would throw that person out.

[Question] Is there a communism with a human face?

[Answer] Theoretical communism I don't know, only practical communism. Look at what has become of communism. Look how theoretical communism has been implemented. There one can indeed register justified objections.

[Question] Could you imagine a situation where the Peace Nobel Prize laureate summons the masses into violence?

[Answer] No, I can only summon for a struggle with arguments. I am against physical struggle and against violent solutions. The better arguments should and will win.

[Question] How many of your friends are in prison, what are they accused of, and when will they be released?

[Answer] Here in Gdansk, 29 are in prison . . .

[Question] . . . and in all of Poland?

[Answer] That we don't know. The figure fluctuates daily, there are always new arrests, but releases as well. It will still take a few days for us to know how many of our friends were arrested after the day of commemoration of 16 December 1983.

[Question] Can you imagine to play a role in a new trade union? Will it be possible for you in the foreseeable future to join a regime-controlled "Patriotic Movement for a National Revival of Poland" or something like that, or would you thereby lose all your creditability among the Polish workers?

[Answer] The government invited me to it. I refused and will continue to refuse getting harnessed up to such an association.

[Question] What do you want of the Western democracies and the neutral states? Are we to extend further credits of billions to your corrupt regime with our tax money, or are we to send money not until all political prisoners are released? Shall we extort more freedom for the Polish workers with our money or cut off the flow of money to help bring the catastrophe about more rapidly?

[Answer] I believe the restrictions imposed by the U.S. government have already done their job. So one should refrain from them from here on out. Credits and loans are another thing. We have no public control over them and so cannot tell what your money is actually being used for. Any friend of Poland therefore will advocate an unmitigated deletion of the restrictions. We don't know whether credits and loans are used properly. We doubt that somewhat.

[Question] What do you need most urgently: money, food or prayers?

[Answer] Prayers and God's help. Pray for Poland.

[Question] After a 2-year delay I may hand you a special Poland issue of PROFIL. Within a few days at that time PROFIL readers and advertisers put up a total of 3.5 million schillings, which we turned over to Austria's official aid to Poland.

[Answer] Convey to your fellow-countrymen the Polish people's thanks. Tell them we were very happy with that aid and also tell them we need more aid.

5885

CSO: 2300/284

## CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALISM EXAMINED

### New Interpretations Criticized

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 84 pp 1,12

[Article by Jozef Baran: "'New' Theories and Discoveries" under the rubric "Polemics"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /For some time now we have been observing a significant phenomenon: an extraordinary crop of scientific "discoveries." We also are witnessing unique occurrences in the domain of social and humanist studies, particularly after 1956. Some are planting in our socialist soil, and in the fields of social and humanist studies, various types of theories from the West (e.g. the theory of "stratification," the theory of "convergence," etc.), while others are "creating" new theories (the theory of "integral democracy") and others still "specialize" in digging up and adapting to contemporary conditions various kinds of old and long since compromised big and little theories (anarchosyndicalism, Trotskyism, etc.). There also exist some who "specialize" in "contemporary" interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, most often focusing on those of its questions and aspects which are of fundamental importance to both the theory and the practice of socio-political life. These last ones "gave birth" at one time to the "young" Marx and immediately opposed him (of course, for the sake of a certain interest) to the "mature," "old" Marx; the representatives of this "philosophical orientation" also delight in opposing Marx and Engels to Lenin, and Marxism to Leninism./

Recently we witnessed the "discovery" of a new fact, namely, that it was socialism's misfortune to have arisen under immature conditions. And all the crises, difficulties and misfortunes we have been and are experiencing (a kind of divine punishment for "the original sin") are traceable precisely to this fact. This at once raises four questions of fundamental importance: first, is the author of that "discovery" familiar by any chance with the actual causes of our deformations and crises? Second, does not he himself bear his share of responsibility for these crises, particularly as concerns science and culture? Third, why has he been so tardy in conceiving such a "genius" idea, considering that formerly he had viewed (and interpreted) quite differently the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution and socialism? And



lastly, there is the fourth question: should the Polish Left, the Polish working class, the Polish people, after World War II, have delayed its seizure of power until the moment when the conditions "mature"? The conditions did exist. Had it not been for the appropriate conditions and premises, we would not have at the time entered on the path of building socialism. And since we had been an exceptionally [war-]devastated country, that is already a different question in every respect. Socialism has hastened the emergence from our then tragic situation. It has provided the conditions for the socio-political and economic advancement of the Polish people.

### Socialism "Polish Style"

As published in TU I TERAZ (No 47, 1983), W. Sokolewicz's article, with its significant title "Socialism in Poland or Polish Socialism," evoked in me mixed feelings at one time. At first I had even thought that the author was merely and mainly concerned with an ordinary problem of language, with a kind of semantic "gymnastics." When, however, I began to peruse it attentively and plumb its reflections, I quickly realized that the author was not at all concerned with some considerations of a terminological-conceptual nature but with a matter of basic significance, of a significance of both the theoretical-cognitive and model kind and the practical, par excellence political, kind.

For W. Sokolewicz poses the problem: is the socialism being built in Poland a Polish socialism, or is it merely socialism being built in Poland? To be more specific, Sokolewicz demonstrates (and this is the chief credo of his article), that the socialism being built in Poland can and must be an exclusively Polish socialism. Otherwise, it is no socialism. But it would be best to give the floor to the author himself. Here is what he states: "These formulas mentioned in the title ('socialism in Poland' and 'Polish socialism') are of a certainty to be distinguished from one another, but in my opinion they should not be opposed to each other. Sometimes doubt is expressed as to whether it is possible at all to speak of a /Polish/ socialism, whether reflections on socialism being implemented in /Poland/ might not suffice. The difference is crucial. In the former case is presumed the existence of a separate variety of socialism linked to the nature of certain, at least, social relations, inclusive of the organization and methods of exercise of power, while in the latter case the differences should be chiefly reflected in forms adapted to the so-called national specificity, and should concern only details. In the former case the differences would be of a permanent and programmed nature, and they would be reflected in both the ends and the means adapted to them, while in the latter case universality of purpose would have to be assumed along with a more or less interim nature of the discrete means employed. In this connection--as ensues logically--the greater the importance of these differences the more desirable--in such a case--their abolition within a relatively short period of time would be.

"Let me say at once that I am in favor of the formula of Polish socialism, along with the ineluctable consequences of this option--as I have besides stated previously in print (PRAWO I ZYCIE, 21 Aug 82). One reason why I favor it is that there can only be a /Polish/ socialism in /Poland./ Unless it is Polish, it will not exist at all or would exist in the form of some system based on the nationalization of the basic means of production and employing socialist phraseology, but it would not be socialism in the full

meaning of the term--at least this is how I interpret the thought and program of the classics [of Marxism-Leninism]."

As can be seen from the passages quoted above, and they are not yet all--the issues posed by W. Sokolewicz are not of a semantic nature, as we have stressed above. They concern, on the one hand, the core of the Marxist-Leninist theory of society, of Marxism-Leninism in general, and on the other, the most important things to the Marxist and communist: /the goals, nature, principles, paths and criteria of building socialism./ In this connection, I believe that the author--contrary to what he proclaims and feels--presents poorly the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism. He misinterprets and misconceives it. It is deplorable both when he claims that there can be only "Polish socialism" in Poland and when he formulates criteria and evaluates the worth of discrete factors in building socialism. For it is difficult to agree with his claim that "genuine" (my definition--J.B.) socialism in our country can /only/ be a "Polish socialism" and that unless it exists there can be no other at all. This claim contains W. Sokolewicz's entire "philosophy of socialism."

Were we to follow this reasoning further (as we should), Sokolewicz's "philosophy of socialism" would reveal itself as follows: If a given country enters upon the path of building socialism then--such is the logic of his reasoning--the socialism it builds is /its own/ socialism and only its own alone. Hence ensues the next conclusion, which is that there are as many socialisms (kinds of socialism) as there are countries which have entered upon the path of building socialism. There thus exist (read: separate) Soviet socialism, Bulgarian socialism, Hungarian socialism, Polish socialism, etc. The formula applied to our country must therefore be worded as follows: Unless the socialism being built in a given (some) country is the socialism of that country, there will be no socialism at all. But I believe, my dear Professor, that if there were to exist separate Polish, Soviet, Bulgarian or Hungarian socialisms then no socialism at all would exist. I do not know whether the author realizes that by "creating" /"national socialisms"/ (my definition--J. B.) he "dilutes" and obscures socialism as a system of society. To Sokolewicz socialism is not a social system (unless it is "partitioned" among individual countries, "submerged" in them) but merely the systems of individual countries. And, although he does not state so plainly, such are--de facto--the consequences of his "theory" of socialism. For if there are to be socialisms of various countries, there can be no socialism, no socialist system of society. Further, it is difficult to accept W. Sokolewicz's assertion that--let us again quote him--/"it would exist in the form of some system based on the nationalization of the basic means of production and employing socialist phraseology, but it would not be socialism in the full meaning of the term...."/ There arises the question of who, where and when has said that the nationalization of basic means of production plus socialist phraseology are sufficient for "full socialism"? Incidentally, I should like to ask Professor Sokolewicz whether he differentiates between such concepts as "nationalization of means of production" and "socialization of means of production"? Unless they are differentiated and understood, it is impossible to properly interpret the Leninist theory of socialism and socialism itself as an actual socio-historical reality. Secondly, when analyzing the processes of socialist construction, a Marxist employs no phraseology but rather the Marxist-Leninist theory of society, historical materialism. One more thing: When commencing to expound his "theory" of socialism Sokolewicz declares: /"On

this road there is no room for the timid and self-indulgent ones who are accustomed to travel only on main-traveled roads."/ I should like to ask Professor Sokolewicz what are the innovative aspects of his presentation? What and who should be feared here? No, this is not a novel topic; revisionists and anti-communists have long since posed the matter thus, and neither is it presented in a novel manner. All this reasoning has nothing in common with authorship; at most it preserves appearances of a scientific and innovative approach. This is chiefly juggling of words. The exposition is of a certainty fallacious, oversimplifying a great deal and vulgarizing the problem. As for the author's "contribution" to the tenets of socialism, it consists in his repeating this "theory," "adapting" properly and, of course, making a unique choice. He chose "Polish socialism." Oh well, there are all kinds of patriots.

### Mistakes and Shortcomings

What are the principal mistakes and shortcomings of W. Sokolewicz's "philosophy of socialism"? They consist chiefly in--generally speaking--a theoretically erroneous and practically and politically harmful treatment of the problem. It is--we emphasize--a treatment that has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and socialist construction. To go into detail, it should be stressed that a major and even "starting" (original) error is that the author--regardless of how he comments on and "aligns" the issues--misinterprets and "exploits" the phenomena, attributes and values of socialist construction, both the universal and durable ones and those of a specific nature. He distinctively "dilutes" the actually durable and universal attributes and properties, devalues them by relegating them to a secondary rank, while at the same time elevating--de facto--to universal rank the properties specific of individual countries; for he uses them to construct "national socialisms" (for this country, "Polish socialism") by attributing to them durable, immutable, lasting properties. According to Sokolewicz, "Polish socialism" is of a permanent nature, has different (what?) goals, and its program is presumably to be different. And yet--as known--the nature of socialism is not determined by particularities and specific attributes but by universal phenomena, values and principles common to all countries entering on the path of building socialism. What matters is commonly shared and what is specific varies. After all, it is the universal principles and factors that determine whether socialism exists (is being built) or does not exist in a given country, and whether a given revolution is or is not a socialist revolution, and lastly whether a given road to socialism is or is not the road to socialism. As for the forced creation of a "Polish socialism" (quite different from socialism in other countries), I consider this to be a grave error. Were this concept to be translated into reality, the consequences of this operation would be lamentable--(mainly) to our country as well as to socialism in general, to the socialist community. It also is difficult to accept Sokolewicz's concept of the so-called specifically Polish factors. He states: /"The distinctiveness of Polish socialism should manifest itself chiefly in: a) special social structure; 2) special power structure (and attendant procedures); 3) special legal situation of the individual."/ I believe that such factors are not specific on the whole, also (and perhaps even above all) with respect to the Polish conditions; besides they are formulated in such a generalized manner as to deny specificity. The factors mentioned by Sokolewicz could equally apply to any other country entering upon the path of building socialism, because he did not provide their specifications. Specific

factors are factors specific solely and exclusively to a given country--ergo, they are inimitable. Seen from this standpoint, the peculiar Polish qualities should primarily include historical-national traditions; agrarian structures and their attendant circumstances; the state of social awareness; the origin of our working class and intelligentsia; the history of our statehood; the nationality structure; the place and role of the Catholic Church with its traditions and socio-cultural "fusion" with the Polish people, etc. The next major error of the author is that he /demonstrates/ at any price what separates (the differences) all the socialist-building countries rather than what is most important and common to them all, what predetermines the nature of socialism, I repeat--socialism. Forcefully, as it were, he builds a theory of "Polish socialism" and thus, without any "but's," he expresses his support of that socialism alone and no other. His next essential error consists in that--by adopting such a concept--the author objectively /opposes/ to each other the socialist countries instead of opposing, as in the case in reality, capitalism to socialism. When specific attributes, that is, differences (what differs, the peculiarities) are too strenuously championed (elevated to the rank of universal principles), it can be asked whether such a treatment of the matter brings socialism closer or makes it more distant and, secondly, whether such an approach does or does not promote the integration of the socialist community and thirdly, what does it have in common with Marxism-Leninism. I have always believed that we should focus at any cost on what links us, champion what we have in common, what determines the nature and essence of socialism as a system of society, a new socio-political system. And further, I believe that if certain limits are transcended (as has been done, in my opinion, by W. Sokolewicz) in emphasizing the differences, in assigning to specific attributes the rank of universal principles, the end-result may be that a given country ceases to be a socialist country and the socialist revolution ceases to be a socialist revolution. The fundamental differences do exist and occur in the oxymoron "capitalism-socialism" rather than within the framework of socialism, among the socialist countries. Regardless of their particular features and distinguishing elements the various socialist countries are socialist countries and they share in common whatever is most important to socialism as a distinctive system of society, a new socio-economic formation. Therefore, there are not and cannot be separate Polish, Soviet, Hungarian, etc. socialisms, just as there are no "distinct" French, English or Italian capitalisms. There is just one socialism and just one capitalism as a system of society, a social formation.

### The Leninist Concept of Building Socialism

Lenin repeatedly drew attention to the problems considered here. He unmasked and sharply combatted erroneous concepts of the socialist revolution and socialism--both those coming from the Left and those coming from the Right. In his work "On the Distortion of Marxism and on Imperialist Economism" ("Works," Vol 23, p 67), Lenin states: /"All nations will reach socialism; this is inevitable, but they shall not reach it all quite uniformly: each will make its own distinctive contribution to this or that form of democracy, to this or that variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to this or that pace of the socialist transformations of various domains of societal life."/ In the same year, at the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which considered the question of national self-determination, Lenin declared: /"As regards national self-determination, the heart of the matter is that different nations proceed along the same historical road but

each follows its own unique zigzagging path, and that the more civilized nations proceed, of course, in a manner different from that of the less civilized ones....Were we to disregard this plank of our platform or approach it differently, we would drop the nationality question from our program. This would be possible if people would exist in the absence of national features. But there are no such people, and there is no other way we can build the socialist society"/ (V. I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 29, p 158). This reasoning is also followed by Lenin in his well-known work, "The Children's Disease of 'Leftism' in Communism." In that work, Lenin explicitly states: /"As long as differences in nationality and statehood exist among nations and countries--and these differences will still persist for quite a long while, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat is accomplished on the scale of the entire world--the unity of the international tactics of the communist worker movement in all countries requires that, while diversity should not be recognized, the nationality differences should not be abolished...and the progressive principles of communism should be correspondingly applied/ ("Soviet Power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") /in such a manner as to modify details of these principles, adapt and fit them properly to national and national-statehood differences" ("Works," Vol 31, pp 78-79).

The specific and universal features of the building of socialism were commented upon unequivocally by W. Gomulka at the 8th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in October 1956. His speech contains the following passage: /"The immutable essence of socialism reduces to abolishing the exploitation of man by man. The roads toward achieving this goal can be and are different, depending on varied factors of time and place" (NOWE DROGI, No 10, p 38, 1956). This problem was again considered by W. Gomulka at the 9th Central Committee Plenum in May 1957. In his speech he declared: /"All national roads to socialism, and hence also the Polish road, postulate the national substructure characteristic of every individual country, and in this sense we are speaking of a national--and hence also Polish, so far as we are concerned--road to socialism"/ (W. Gomulka, "Przemowienia. Pazdziernik 1956--Wrzesien 1957" [Speeches. October 1956--September 1957], Warsaw, 1957, p 269). Thus while pointing to specific attributes W. Gomulka at the same time strongly advocated the common, universal factors. According to W. Gomulka, these factors are: /1) the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party; 2) the existence of a dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) the socialization of means of production, gradual transformation of production relations in the country--side and centralized planning and management; 4) proletarian internationalism, fraternal cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries/ (Ibid., p 270).

These criteria have been presented in a similar spirit at the conferences of communist and worker parties in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.

As can thus be seen, the Leninist treatment of this question is a dialectical, concretely historical treatment. From the foregoing quotations from Lenin (as well as other passages from Lenin) it ensues at the same time that he treats the matters in question unambiguously: first, he states that every country will achieve socialism, because this ensues from objective premises, from the patterns of historical processes; second, he believes that socialism should be built with allowance for specific features of that pattern while at the same time warning against disregard of these specific qualities and situations; third--as ensues from the foregoing--Lenin proclaims that every individual country contributes something new to socialism, enriches it, but without

turning it--as Sokolewicz and his likes desire--into its "own" socialism (into a Polish socialism in our country) and rather by achieving socialism as a particular socio-economic system, that is, briefly by /achieving socialism/. Fourth, Lenin, while fully appreciating the specificity of the conditions of individual countries, appreciating the richness and diversity of the experience gained in building socialism by different (individual) countries, does not overestimate their importance, does not rear them into paramount factors, does not base the essence of socialism on them. On the contrary, to him the most important factors and qualities are those common to all the countries entering upon the road of socialism, those which--in other words-- are universal, which, let us stress this yet again, determine socialism. Fifth and finally, from the position of the Leninist theory of socialism, in my opinion specific attributes and qualities should not be reduced to and identified with national attributes: I believe that specific attributes are something more than national attributes and peculiarities.

How are we, in this connection, to construe the distinctiveness of specific factors in the building of socialism? In various ways. One: they are linked to the formative process itself of socialism, to the manner in which the working class gains power in a country (the revolutionary, peaceful, "mixed" and other roads). Two: specific attributes refer to the process itself of building socialism. Three: peculiarities refer to the methods of building the socialist society after power is gained. And four: when speaking of specific qualities, we mean the conditions and circumstances under which socialism arose and is being built. In this connection, the conditions to be considered should be both (and mainly) domestic conditions and external conditions and circumstances (the international situation, the geographical position of the country entering upon the path of building socialism; the outcome for Poland has been different from that for Cuba, etc.).

It is clear from what has been said so far that if one is to speak sensibly of socialism, of the process of building socialism and of the factors and laws governing that process, each time the following should be taken into account: 1) the aims and program, that is, the nature, content and principal features of socialism as a system of society; 2) the criteria and conditions (premises) for the formation and building of socialism; the determinant of the extent of its advancement; 3) the factors and forces promoting the development of socialism; and 4) the conditions and circumstances of the socialist revolution and building of socialism in discrete countries.

Thus, as can be seen, several issues relating to the socialist formation are associated with both universal and specific features. Socialism is thus a /dialectical unity/ of universal principles and specific qualities, provided however that it is the universal rather than the specific factor that always decides whether socialism exists or is being built in a given country. From this it follows clearly that there is and can be only one socialism!

#### **'Polish Socialism' Termed Petitbourgeois**

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 4, 25 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Mirosław Karwat: "Neither Specific Nor Socialism: Polemics With Sokolewicz"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The vision of Polish socialism outlined by Wojciech Sokolewicz ("TIT," No 48/78) is a mixture of "common-sense" and liberal notions. This manifests itself in its view of the questions of the individual, the state, the society, the rights of the individual, in its ideological view of the state and, above all, in a program of societal and epistemological individualism./

The criteria for the specificity of Polish socialism as interpreted by Sokolewicz are abortive, because they are either not specific to Poland or in general not applicable to socialism.

The point of departure is the thesis: /"The necessary social support for the idea of Polish socialism can be gained only when it will be a vision of socialism giving priority to INDIVIDUALISM over COLLECTIVISM."/ Compare this with the earlier assertion that socialism in Poland can be only Polish or non-existent at all. It follows that Polish means individualistic. I do not know what is the author's rationale (other than a colloquial stereotype of the national character) for categorically claiming that individualism is a distinctive feature of Polishness, a constituent factor of national identity. I also am not aware on what foundation he rests his concept of a socialism based on individualism. Individualism means opposing the individual to the community, placing the particular interests of the individual above the collective interests, respecting the inviolability of interests of the individual--including, let us add, private ownership!--even under special conditions and in the name of the interests of society. It is the foundation of the bourgeois system of society and the distinctive feature of bourgeois or petty-bourgeois ethos. What does it have in common with socialist, proletarian principles of justice, equality, common work for the common good? By what miracle can the consecrated individualism of many individuals (who are mutually indifferent to each other's and common fate and who hostilely compete with each other) be transmogrified into social harmony, and to boot into social justice? Are the interests of individuals given to be of equal importance, such that no single one should prevail or be subordinate to others? For how else are we to interpret equating individualism with the rights of the individual? And does this assumption have anything at all in common with the social reality? Do these interests--which after all are so diverse and often contradictory!--together add up to the collective interest, the interest of the community? How will the author of this project assure equality, justice and other rights of the individual (inclusive of human and personal dignity) in a situation when there are not enough material goods for all? Who then should be more of an "individual," more of a man than others?

For the sake of absolute clarity, Sokolewicz defines the conditions under which the individual can subordinate himself to the whole, which he mechanically identifies with authoritarian authorities: he can do so only in the presence of a special danger and when--as if this were not enough--the awareness of that danger is general and common. The individual's self-subordination to "authoritarianism" (that is, relinquishment of personal claims and interests) can occur--this the author stresses--only when the majority considers it to be in the common interest of the nation. We are here dealing with a phenomenon that is indeed specific in measure with history: a plebiscitarian socialism under which the common good of the nation is not assumed to be a supreme value but exists and materializes only if it is perceived and known to the majority. If, however, the majority does not

acknowledge it, this too is socialism, and a much more democratic socialism at that, since it does not violate the rights of the individual and especially his right to live outside history and society.

A significant aspect of such reasoning is that it identifies collectivism with authoritarianism and even totalitarianism. In such an interpretation, collectivism is the forced collectivization of the countryside, bureaucratic centralism, a repressive government, etc.

And yet already "The Communist Manifesto" had expounded the ABC of Marxism on this matter, settling with in a single brilliantly concise yet capacious statement: "the free development of each is a condition for the development of all." It is precisely communism, or collectivism, that elevates to the rank of a supreme value man's individuality, the broad development of the individual--but in the dialectics of self-fulfillment and socialization. Individualism has nothing in common with the development of the individual and rather impoverishes it instead.

In the context of the comments cited above (on the conditions for the acknowledgment and functioning of the "common good" and on the rights of the individual), it is clearly seen that W. Sokolewicz considers individualism to be a natural norm of the life of society, its most perfect regulator. Viewed from such a standpoint, the rights of the individual are--contrary to the humanistic message--degraded to the level of trivial criteria: the right to be "the navel of the world," "the lone wolf," the right to "don't touch what is mine" (sacrosanct private property) and the right to disagree. In this case, this right should also be restored to those who were forcibly deprived of it (thus violating the rights of the individual): the former owners of industrial means of production.

Now how can these proclamations (or rather this exhumation, in such an anachronistic version) of unprecedented rights of the individual be reconciled with the advocacy of the formation of agricultural cooperatives since in such a concept of socialism the be-all and end-all of everything is individualism, which by its very nature is opposed to any formation of cooperatives by common consent? Shall we first inoculate hard-working peasants with individualism and then try to persuade them to voluntarily associate themselves into cooperatives? Is this the prescription for the development of socialism in Poland?

I understood, of course, the author's intention. He wanted to put an end to the past unpraiseworthy methods of socialization, e.g. the bureaucratic-administrative form of collectivization. Yet, this menace no longer exists: it was precisely in our country that safeguards for the permanence of private farms have been recently written into the Constitution. The peasant was promised that no one would expropriate him by force. But everything else that [the author] proclaims he should proclaim in his own name and not in the name of socialism.

Lastly, there is the fundamental fallacy on which the author's entire concept rests. If we are to seek for some healthy foundation for a modernized and effective concept of socialism that would be at the same time close to national traditions and needs, that foundation should be not individualism but /efficient management/. There is no positive correlation between one and the



other. Individualism is neither a source of efficient management nor a source of better consolidation of the nation--this is evidenced by the effects of the contemporary overblown individualism in Poland. In a petty-commercial economy or in a combined petty-commercial, petty-capitalist and socialized economy, the framework of efficient management is too narrow: parochial efficiency combines with inefficiency on the scale of the entire society and readily degenerates into parasitic and appropriating tendencies. Very well, but what about /the other side/?/Wherever individualism is the "mainspring" of the economy, it does not represent the economy but rather is coupled to, on the one hand, exploitation and, on the other, an iron discipline and efficient organization of labor, i.e. precisely to what constitutes the denial of individualism. Individualism interpreted literally and maximalistically (as something more than an attitude, aspirations, and motives of activity) is in the capitalist world a luxury accessible only to a chosen few. By contrast, societies consisting of individualists with equal rights do not function at all.

### The State--the Party--the Ideology

Similarly, the vision of political and ideological life in the proposal of Wojciech Sokolewicz is of a paraliberal nature. He states--and justly at that--that one of the elements of the specificity of Polish socialism is the participation of progressive Catholic movements in drafting and exercising a program for governing, and the uniquely broad influence of non-Marxist allies of the party outside the worker movement. We are thus dealing with something that Sokolewicz omitted naming, but which should be named--a coalition-alliance way of governing. Thereupon, Sokolewicz equates this principle with the factual deviation from the hegemonic role of the Marxist-Leninist party and the change in the ideological nature of the state. Let me quote: /"The state cannot be, neither as a whole nor in the action of its individual institutions, identified with the party. While the implementation of ideological functions should not be abandoned, their content should be interpreted more broadly--the ideology of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] rather than that of the party alone should be translated into reality."/ It is just this last factor that is supposed to be the criterion and prerequisite for the participation of [the party's] allies in governing. Thus the author infers as many as two fallacious conclusions from a genuine premise (the objective difference, and the need to differentiate, between the party and the state).

First, he confuses political alliances and compromises with ideological alliances and compromises (as if the latter were not "contradictio in adjecto"). But there is a difference between exclusivity of power and the monopoly exercise of power by a single party, on the one hand, and its domination of a system of alliances, on the other, just as there is a difference between the mechanical transformation of the party's political will into actions of the state and the mechanisms of compromise, as well as between the regimentation of ideological life and the hegemony of the ideology decisive to the identity of a system of society.

Secondly--and here we are dealing with a fundamental misconception--there is not and never will be any /"ideology of the PRON"/, despite the existence of a PRON program and a definite platform for ideological collaboration and commonality of the participants in that movement, a system of values which should be respected by the authorities and implemented in their actions. The PRON

itself is an alliance, a distinctive coalition of ideologically diverse (though akin) forces cemented together by shared gains and principles rather than by the points of departure and ultimate values of their own systems of values. And this precisely inheres in the very premises of the PRON along with the principle of the confrontation of differing views and appraisals and the desire to achieve accord or compromises. Ideology is a feature of social classes and their parties rather than of the alliances and fronts of these diverse classes, strata and parties. The concept of /"PRON ideology"/ implies regimentation of the participants in the PRON movement and the dissolution of their own values and doctrines in some electrical blender as it were. By contrast, in reality the PRON postulates the preservation and respect of the identity of every participant. No one has joined this movement in order to reject his own political ideology: the only reasons for joining it are moral-patriotic and world-outlook motives of political commitment to socialism and to the strengthening of Polish statehood. Some participants in the PRON state explicitly that they are motivated by ideological considerations external to them and to the PRON (e.g. by the social doctrine of the Church).

Could it thus be that the /"ideology of the PRON"/ is some resultant of various ideologies ("sensu stricto"), quasi-ideologies, paraideologies and pseudoideologies?

Let us sum up. Show me a state that is based on several different ideologies! And especially show me such a system of society. Is socialism to be safeguarded by the competition or bargaining among different and mutually or inherently contradictory ideas on property relations, class relations and distribution relations, by a practice of continually arriving at mutual agreement to postpone debatable issues "ad calendar graecas"? The same ideology can be implemented--critically and conditionally, based on their own gradation of interpretations from the standpoint of their doctrines and upon providing support by degree--by different political forces without thereby abandoning their own identity, on delineating their boundaries. It is absurd, on the other hand, to expect of a state to implement several different ideologies envisioning differing systems of society. Thus, the partnership between Marxists and non-Marxist forces consists not in some formal equality of different ideologies but in that these forces bear responsibility for either supporting or not supporting, and interpreting, specific ideological goals, that socialism is being built not /"over the heads"/ of the non-communists but upon reaching with them agreement on the tasks for the successive stages of its construction.

The postulate of not identifying the party's ideology with the state's activities is merely self-evident, without representing a premise for isolating the worker-peasant state from the proletarian ideology and making it independent of that ideology. The state differs from the party precisely in that it is a national (but class-oriented!) form of the organization of all groups and citizens, in that as a state it essentially neither has nor creates any ideology. On the other hand, it implements, sanctions and as it were embodies the ideology of the ruling class, as currently reflected and worked out by the ruling political parties.

It is obvious that in a normally functioning political system the dominant party is neither the autocratic owner nor the trustee of the state, nor is it a force standing above the state, although elemental tendencies toward the

fusion of the ruling party with the state occur always and everywhere. The organs of the state always are the instrument of the party ruling in behalf of the working class. Thus the point should be different. It is the party itself that should be controlled by its own class as well as by its allies if it has them. It is also confined by its opponents. But the postulate of the ideological separation of the party from the state, or of the loosening of their ideological relationship, would be tantamount to depriving the ruling class of its decisive influence on the nature of the state. How is one to interpret the suggestion for granting equal rights to different ideologies otherwise than as a suggestion for mutually equating worker, petty-capitalist, petty-commercial, technocrat-manager and other interests? And it is just this that is supposed to be a safeguard for socialism or a criterion for its specificity? What kind of socialism would that be?

This incidentally also raises another question. While proposing to the party that it relinquish its dominant ideological influence on the state, in the same breath Wojciech Sokolewicz also recommends that it attend less to direct guidance and governing and more to leading the society. How does he think these suggestions can be reconciled?

#### Rule of Law

The rule of law indeed requires a fuller definition. But this is hardly part of the Polish specificity. Can other states, whether socialist or not, dispense with rule of law? It is rather the meaning of this principle that matters. Above all: rule of law does not reduce to the relations between the authorities and the citizenry. And it does not even begin with them. The problem begins with the question of whether power is exercised under the control of the social force in whose name it governs, whether it operates in accordance with the rules established by the representatives of that force. To put it briefly, the point of departure is the legality of power and its control, and next there is the problem whether the authorities adhere to and implement the norms they establish for themselves, whether executive power is indeed executive in relation to legislative power. It is only against this background ("government of laws") that the legal and political status of the individual citizen is determined, and it is this that enables him to protect his own interests and preserve his dignity. A minimalist and formalist view of the rule of law is not enough. On the other hand, there is the (undesirable!) possibility that the interests of society or the individual may be disregarded under politically faulty laws injurious to the principles of popular rule and justice.

If the principle of the rule of law is construed from the individualist-liberal standpoint, subordinating it to the principle of the primacy of individualism over collectivism and the primacy of rights of the individual over the common good, the result is a weak government which intervenes only if permitted and invited to do so (which serves not so much all the people as the stronger individuals) as well as laws camouflaging with formal equality the actual inequality of the opportunities and status of individuals. Thus, we derive denial of the laws from the boundary condition that they should not stand above the rights of man and the individual, that they should not serve to suppress individuality and the interests of the individual. As if trying to evade this paradox, the author bases his interpretation of legality on the banal and seemingly evident postulate that the nature of the laws

/"should at least not contradict the perception of justice among the basic social classes, strata and groups."/ But let us keep our feet on the ground! After all, with regard to many basic issues, e.g. economic ones (wages, prices, taxes, insurance, social services, etc.), the perception of justice among the basic social classes and strata in Poland is neither identical nor convergent but even conflicting. This is no accident, because their vested interests differ! There is no rule of law that could assure a justice that is "the same for all" or that satisfies everyone equally.

### National Sovereignty

It is true that one of the premises for the strength of socialism in Poland is the universal identification of this system of society with national interests. Thus, it is also indispensable to both strengthen real sovereignty and imbue our compatriots with the feeling that we are sovereign and also to eliminate all those processes or occurrences which impair this conviction. Not everything has yet been done about this matter in ideological-propaganda work. Yet the perception and interpretation of sovereignty is not the same among various groups in our nation; on the contrary, it differs among discrete classes, strata and political orientations. Hence only a segment of our nation can be convinced on this issue--the segment which links the feeling of dignity and sovereignty to the feeling of reality and the readiness to rely on our own strength and that of our true friends. The disoriented ones have to be convinced.

As for the others, let us forget them: it is a waste of time. They are prevented from understanding our rationale by their clearly conceptualized different interests rather than by misconceptions. Honeyed persuasion will not work with embittered nationalists: /"But please understand, my dears, believe that we are a sovereign [state]"/. To them, both this "explaining" and these manifestations of genuine sovereignty mean nothing. To them, the dispute about sovereignty is a dispute about whom to subordinate oneself. Now if convincing the majority is to be sensible and effective, our countrymen should be reminded that genuine sovereignty consists in: national dignity addressed in all rather than only certain directions, a strong economy, deliberate and reasonable self-constraints, and appropriate alliances. Above all, the popular way of thinking should be fundamentally altered and all Poles should be imbued with the awareness that sovereignty is reflected in work productivity and the work ethos, in the strength of the national currency and in the loyalty of citizens and their feeling of responsibility toward their own state. This has long ago been mentioned by Edmund Osmanczyk, who is hardly a communist.

### "Polish" or Petitbourgeois?

Once the reader familiarizes himself with Sokolewicz's vision, it may even seem to him that this Polish socialism is supposed to exist somewhere else than here, outside all contradictions and conflicts, in universal harmony, brotherhood and order. It sounds like a sentimental bucolic idyll. It is enough for the rule of law, justice and Polishness to exist in order that socialism would arise of itself and at that as a result of elemental private initiative unsuppressed by the state and safeguarded by the rights of the individual.

I regard such pronouncements--which may be not completely reasoned out and may be more emotional than analytic--as a reflection of the aspirations of yet another successive generation under socialism that desires socialism to be something more than even some leniently pragmatic bureaucratism. But absence of deformations still does not make for socialism. Neither it is some specific feature of socialism. Socialism without deformations is no Polish miracle. It is simply normal socialism.

Were the guiding ideas of Sokolewicz's article to be treated seriously and literally, I am not certain whether that would be a specifically Polish socialism. (In other countries identical proposals would be made.) But of a certainty, it would be a typical petty-bourgeois socialism in the liberal-democratic version (with a generalized conception of the values of individualism, solidarism, democratism, rule of law, sovereignty and national identity).

I am far from ascribing such intentions to Wojciech Sokolewicz. But the results diverge from the intentions.

1386

CSO: 2600/615

# DECREE ON ENSURING PROTECTION OF PROPERTY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 103, 26 Dec 83 pp 1-8

## [Decree of the State Council on the Guarding of Property]

[Text] Socialist ownership constitutes the stable foundation of our order, the fruit of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Romanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party to build the new society, and continual growth in national wealth represents the primary condition for securing the fulfillment of the higher and higher material and spiritual requirements of the working people.

The protection of socialist property, of all national wealth and of scientific, technical, cultural and artistic values, the securing of the integrity of the installations and equipment against thefts, fires, explosions and any acts of destruction or defacement, and the protection of forests, crops and harvests constitute a basic duty of high patriotic responsibility of the ministries, the other central bodies, the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, the state and public socialist units, and all the working people in their capacity of producers, owners and beneficiaries of the material assets of society.

For securing the efficient guarding of property, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

### Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. The guarding of socialist property is organized and done, in relation to its importance and specific character, in accordance with the provisions of the present decree, through a military watch, an own watch of the state and public socialist units, and a public watch.

Article 2. The ministries, the other central bodies, and the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest are obligated to take steps to provide for the guarding of the property in the state and public socialist units that are subordinate to them.

Article 3. The responsibility for taking the steps to provide for the guarding of the property that the state and public socialist units possess by any title devolves upon the management of these units.

Article 4. Each citizen of the homeland has the duty to act decisively regarding the protection of public and personal property, to report to the competent bodies any act of a nature to affect its integrity and, when the situation requires it, to intervene directly, under the conditions of the law, to protect this property.

Article 5. Formations of the patriotic guards and young people in the formations for training the young people for the homeland's defense will participate in strengthening the guard and security of the facilities.

## Chapter II The Military Watch

Article 6. The facilities of particular importance for the country's defense, the state's activity, the economy, science, technology, culture and art, and the values that need to be provided with a military watch, are stipulated by means of a presidential decree.

The military watch mentioned in the present decree is performed with personnel of the Ministry of the Interior, approved for this purpose.

Article 7. The ministries and other central bodies whose subordinate units are provided with a military watch will conclude protocols for this purpose with the Ministry of the Interior. In the protocol there will be stipulated the number of military personnel and watch posts, the setups and the technical means of guarding and alerting for operating the watch whose construction and installation are incumbent upon the benefiting socialist units, the manner of providing the conditions for billeting the military personnel, and other obligations referring to the military watch, in accordance with the provisions of the military regulations.

On the basis of the protocol mentioned in Paragraph 1, the watch-using unit concludes a contract with the military unit set by the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 8. The socialist units that operate on the basis of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration at which a military watch is organized will pay to the Ministry of the Interior the equivalent value of the services performed. The rates are set by the Ministry of the Interior, with the advice of the Ministry of Finance, at the level of the expenditures that are made for the military watch.

Article 9. The military watch is organized and performed in accordance with the watch plan drawn up by the commander of the military unit and the head of the socialist unit, by also applying accordingly the provisions of Article 18.

The commander of the unit or subunit that provides the watch for the facility will inform the head of the socialist unit about the problems referring to the manner of performing the watch services.

On notification by the commander, the head of the socialist unit is obliged to take the steps that are required for providing the conditions needed for properly performing the watch, in accordance with the contractual obligations.

Article 10. At the facilities of particular importance, there is also organized, along with the military watch, according to need, an own watch, which is integrated into the single watch system for the facilities.

At the facilities mentioned in Paragraph 1, the personnel in the own watch are also subordinate, with regard to fulfilling the missions, to the commander of the unit or subunit that provides the military watch.

### Chapter III

#### The Own Watch of the State and Public Socialist Units

Article 11. The facilities and other property that, due to their value, importance or specific character, need to be guarded continually are secured by means of the own watch of the state and public socialist units.

The own watch is performed with personnel having precisely these duties, within the number of posts approved for each unit by means of the plan, and is organized into formations composed of watchmen, special-facility watchmen, doorkeepers, gatekeepers and formation chiefs, required for covering the posts and shifts established by means of the watch plan, in conformity with the criteria and standards provided in Appendix 1.

While on duty, the watch personnel wear a uniform, in accordance with the legal standards.

In the case of the socialist units grouped in the same building or in separate buildings, with the same access, the watch is organized jointly, with personnel of these units. The executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, together with the managements of the state and public socialist units, will determine the facilities at which a common watch is organized. The managements of the socialist units that have facilities that are secured by means of a common watch will determine, by mutual agreement, the personnel who perform the watch, as well as the obligations and responsibilities that devolve upon them in this regard, including those resulting from the watch plan.

For strengthening the guard of the state and public socialist units and the security of sectors, aggregates, installations and other important areas of activity, there is organized, at the same time, a public watch.

The public watch is performed by the personnel of the socialist unit or, as the case may be, by the cooperative members, outside of working hours, in compliance with the provisions of the labor legislation, and by fighters in the patriotic guards and young people in the formations for training the young people for the homeland's defense.



The persons who perform the public watch are proposed by the working people's councils in the socialist units or by the management councils in the cooperative organizations, and the proposals are approved by the general assembly of the working people, of their representatives or of the cooperative members, as the case may be.

The obligations provided for watch personnel devolve accordingly upon the persons who perform the public watch at the state and public units.

Article 12. At the socialist units that possess agricultural land by any title, their own field watch is organized.

Besides the duties common to all watch personnel, the field watchmen are obligated to provide for the guarding of all property on the agricultural land and to inform, in due time, the competent bodies about the occurrence of disasters, the appearance of pests and other events of a nature to cause damage to public property.

While on duty, the field watchmen wear a distinctive insignia.

Article 13. The guarding of forests, of any land that constitutes forest resources, of game in the game resources and of piscicultural resources is provided by silvicultural personnel and by those for guarding the game and piscicultural resources, specially appointed by the managements of the socialist units possessing these resources.

Article 14. A person who meets the following conditions can be used as a watchman:

- a) He is a Romanian citizen and has reached the age of 21 years;
- b) He has physical and professional aptitudes suited to the position;
- c) He is known as a correct person with good civic conduct;
- d) He has completed military service.

Women who meet the conditions mentioned in Paragraph 1, with the exception of that in Letter d, can also be used to control the access to the socialist units.

Article 15. The watch personnel are hired only with the recommendation of the local body of the militia. In the case of the withdrawal of the recommendation, the one in question can no longer be kept on watch duty.

Article 16. On being hired, the watch personnel take the following oath:

"I swear to respect the laws of the country, to spare no effort to ensure the security of the property that is entrusted to me for guarding, to be honest, courageous, disciplined and vigilant, to strictly preserve state and official secrecy and to conscientiously fulfill the duties that devolve upon me."

Article 17. The watch personnel will be armed with firearms, with the advice of the militia of the county or of the municipality of Bucharest, in relation to the importance, specific character and size of the facilities and the value of the property guarded.

Article 18. The watch is organized and performed in accordance with the watch plan drawn up by the state or public socialist unit, with the specialized advice of the local body of the Ministry of the Interior, which is also mandatory in the situation of the alteration of the watch plan.

The number of posts and their location, the number of watchmen and other persons who participate in the watch, the setups, installations and technical means of guarding and alerting, the orders for the posts, the way in which the control of the access to and circulation in the facility is accomplished, and the liaison and cooperation with other bodies with tasks of guard and security of the facilities and property are set by means of the watch plan. For providing the field watch, the plan will also stipulate the delimitation of the agricultural land and of the structures, installations and other property found on this land that are to be guarded.

Article 19. The heads of the state and public socialist units where an own watch is provided have mainly the following duties:

- a) They are directly responsible for the organization and operation of the watch for the units and for the property that they possess by any title;
- b) They analyze thoroughly the strict watch needs and determine the personnel required in relation to the importance, size and vulnerability of the respective facilities, the specific character of production and the place to put them;
- c) They ensure, for performing watch duty, the selection of persons with a suitable moral makeup and with physical and professional aptitudes needed for this activity;
- d) They take steps regarding specific instruction for the watch personnel and check out the way in which they perform their official duties;
- e) They provide for the execution of the setups and installations needed to perform watch duty and for the matter of introducing, servicing and keeping in operating condition the technical means of alerting;
- f) They provide for the equipping of the watch personnel with the uniform and distinctive insignia, in accordance with the legal provisions;
- g) They provide the spaces and setups needed for keeping in complete security the arms and ammunition needed for performing watch duty;
- h) They establish responsibilities for the heads of the work departments and for foremen with regard to the guard and security of the equipment and installations at the workplaces. At the end of the work schedule, the heads of the

work departments, and the foremen in the places where work is done in one or two shifts, will verify whether steps have been taken to prevent thefts, fires, explosions, destruction or defacement. The entrances to these workplaces will be locked and sealed, and the keys will be kept in the places specially stipulated by the heads of the socialist units.

The fulfillment of these duties by the heads of the state and public socialist organizations is achieved with the advice and under the specialized control of the local militia bodies, which they are obligated to inform in connection with all problems that can affect the guard and integrity of public property.

The same obligations also devolve upon the heads of the newly founded state or public socialist units at which the providing of their own watch is necessary. These units and those at which the activity is expanded will stipulate in the tables of organization the need for personnel specially meant for guarding the facilities and property.

#### Chapter IV

##### Control of the Access to and Circulation in the Precincts of the State and Public Socialist Units

Article 20. The access to the precincts of the state and public socialist units, with the exception of those units that perform public services, is obtained only on the basis of an identification card, a permit or an entry ticket.

The heads of the socialist units will set strict rules for access to and circulation in the precincts of the units by their own personnel and by persons from outside.

The legal provisions in force referring to the protection of state secrecy, those concerning labor discipline, and the specific character of the unit will be taken into account in setting the rules for access and circulation, with the access and circulation of persons being permitted only for the places in which they perform their activity or in which they have official tasks to perform and for which access for this purpose has been approved.

Article 21. The personnel of the unit will wear the specific gear or the distinctive badges or insignia stipulated by means of the internal-order regulations.

Article 22. The heads of the socialist units will stipulate according to work departments--offices, sections, shops and other such--the persons who are responsible for the application of the rules for access to and circulation in these workplaces.

The responsible persons, stipulated in accordance with the preceding paragraph, are obligated to check out daily the way in which the rules for access and circulation are followed and, in the case in which they find violations of them, to inform the management of the socialist unit and to propose the punishment of the guilty parties.

Article 23. The heads of the socialist units are obligated to organize the performance of the educational activity for all personnel for increasing the vigilance and the internal order and discipline, so that the access to and circulation in the work departments are accomplished under the conditions of ensuring the guard and security of the facilities and property of the unit.

#### Chapter V

#### The Public Watch in Communes, Villages and Some Component Localities of the Municipalities and Cities

Article 24. For the protection of public property and personal property, a public watch, which also helps to maintain public order and peace, is organized in communes and villages.

The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest can arrange for a public watch to also be organized in some component localities of the municipalities and cities spread by them.

Article 25. The public watch is organized, on the basis of the proposal of the assembly of the inhabitants, by the executive bureaus of the communal people's councils and, in the component localities of the municipalities and cities and in the villages belonging to them, by the executive committees or bureaus of the respective people's councils. The number of watch posts is established by the assembly of the inhabitants, at the proposal of the executive committees or bureaus that organize the watch.

The number of inhabitants of the commune or village, the size and location of the locality, the number of facilities whose watch is not provided by other watch systems, and other such elements determined by the local specific character are taken into account in establishing the public watch posts.

The decision of the assembly of the inhabitants is adopted through a show of hands by the majority of those present, if they represent at least two-thirds of the number of inhabitants upon whom the obligation to perform the watch devolves. The assembly of the inhabitants can be organized according to villages, communes or electoral districts or groups of them and is convened by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council.

Article 26. The public watch is performed at night, in rotation, by the citizens who live in the locality where such a watch is organized--men of 18-65 years of age, known as correct persons with good civic conduct--in accordance with the watch plan drawn up in conformity with the provisions of Article 18. The persons who do not exhibit the dependability to perform this activity, determined by the assembly of the inhabitants, will pay the equivalent value of the performance of the watch in money.

The following are excepted from performing the public watch:

- a) Medically unfit persons;
- b) Military personnel;

c) Other persons, in thoroughly justified cases, with the approval of the assembly of the inhabitants.

Article 27. The obligation to perform the public watch is fulfilled by actually performing the watch.

The assembly of the inhabitants can give approval to persons to pay the equivalent value in money of the obligation to perform the watch.

The sums set by the assembly of the inhabitants as a contribution, for the persons who do not exhibit the dependability to perform the watch or to whom approval has been given, in accordance with Paragraph 2, to not actually perform this activity, will be used to pay the persons who perform the watch in their place and are collected by the financial bodies of the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils. In the case in which the sums are not paid within 30 days after the date of the decision of the assembly of the inhabitants, they are pursued and distrained on the basis of the decision of the executive committee or bureau of the people's council, which constitutes an enforceable warrant.

The executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils determine the persons who perform the watch in the place of those mentioned in Paragraph 2 and Article 26, Paragraph 1, and the remuneration due in accordance with the decision of the assembly of the inhabitants.

The public watchmen wear a distinctive insignia while performing the watch.

The instruction and supervision of the persons who perform the public watch are provided by the executive committees or bureaus of the people's councils, with the specialized assistance of the local body of the Ministry of the Interior.

## Chapter VI

### The Guarding of the Transportation of Important Values

Article 28. The transportation of important values consisting of sums of money, loan certificates, checks or other such, precious metals and stones and scientific, technical, cultural and artistic values, and of arms, ammunition, explosive or radioactive materials or other dangerous materials or substances, is done with specially intended means of transportation, provided, as the case may be, with a military watch or personnel from the own watch, armed with firearms, under the conditions provided by law.

The amount of the sums of money and the values and property that are to be guarded and transported in accordance with Paragraph 1 are determined by the management of the socialist unit, with the agreement of the county or Bucharest municipal inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 29. The means intended for the transportation of the values and property mentioned in Article 28 will be equipped with required technical devices for guarding and alerting and properly outfitted to meet the security conditions.

Article 30. In the case in which the transportation of sums of money and other values is not done with specially intended means of transportation, the management of the socialist unit will take steps so that those who perform such transportation are accompanied by a person designated from the unit or, when the situation requires it, by a watchman.

The specially designated person and the watchman, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, can be armed with firearms, with the agreement of the county or Bucharest municipal inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior.

## Chapter VII The Technical Means of Guarding and Alerting

Article 31. The state and public socialist units are obligated to introduce technical means of guarding and alerting corresponding to the importance and specific character of the facilities and property that must be guarded, to accomplish the fencing of the facilities and to take steps to achieve security lighting.

Through self-equipping, the state and public socialist units will also achieve technical means of guarding and alerting for their own needs.

Article 32. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry and the other producing ministries will organize the activity of research, design, assimilation and approval for prototypes of apparatus and other technical means of guarding and alerting that are to be introduced and used by the socialist units to provide greater efficiency to the watch.

The central bodies mentioned in Paragraph 1 are obligated to take steps to introduce into manufacture the technical means of guarding and alerting advised by the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 33. The Ministry of the Machine Tool, Electrical Engineering and Electronics Industry will take steps, through its units, to receive orders from the customers within the periods stipulated by the legal provisions in force, to centralize annually the need for types of apparatus according to central bodies and to ensure the coordinated delivery of them to the customers, in relation to the priorities set by the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 34. The technical means of guarding and alerting needed for the facilities are determined by the managements of the socialist units, together with the local bodies of the Ministry of the Interior.

In relation to the need determined, the socialist units will propose in the annual plans funds for the introduction of technical means of guarding and alerting.

The ministries, the other central bodies and the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will provide to the socialist units subordinate to them the investment funds for achieving the setups and installing the technical means of guarding and alerting necessary to the watch and for keeping

them in operating condition, within the limit of the funds provided for this purpose in the sole national plan for economic and social development.

At the request of the socialist units, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives will provide, through specially designated personnel, with the advice of the county militia or that of the municipality of Bucharest, for the installation, repair and maintenance of the technical means of guarding and alerting.

Article 35. In the design and execution of the structures of facilities, provision will be made for the technical means necessary to the watch and for the equipping of them with technical means of guarding and alerting.

#### Chapter VIII

##### The Obligations and Rights of the Watch Personnel

Article 36. The watch personnel are obligated to exhibit high discipline in their entire activity and to strictly comply with the obligations that devolve upon them, being directly responsible for the guard and security of the property entrusted.

Article 37. While on duty, the watch personnel are obligated:

a) To know the vulnerable places and points in the perimeter of their posts, in order to prevent the occurrence of any acts of a nature to cause damage to public property;

b) To guard with a high sense of responsibility the facility and the property received for guarding and to ensure their integrity, sparing no effort to protect them;

c) To allow access to the facility only in conformity with the legal provisions and to perform the inspection of persons, means of transportation, materials and other property, on entering and leaving the precincts of the socialist unit, applying to the entry and exit documents for the materials the stamp "gate inspection performed," after which they will mention this operation in the control register.

In the case in which, on the occasion of the inspection, state- or official-secret documents possessed or transported without compliance with the legal provisions have been found, the watch personnel retain the documents, stop the persons who possess them, and immediately inform the management of the socialist unit and the local body of the Ministry of the Interior;

d) To not allow access to the guarded facilities by persons under the influence of alcohol;

e) To stop and check the identity of persons about whom there are data or indications that they have committed infractions or other illegal acts in the guarded facility and, in the case of flagrant infractions, to stop the culprit and turn him over to the militia bodies, requesting, if necessary, assistance from the personnel of the socialist unit, the other watchmen or any person; to

confiscate the property that is the object of the infractions or other illegal acts, which they will turn over to the militia bodies, taking steps to preserve or guard it, preparing, at the same time, a report on the taking of these steps;

f) To immediately inform the management of the socialist unit and their superior about the occurrence of any event during the performance of watch duty and about the steps taken;

g) To take all the steps that result from the watch orders to prevent the occurrence of fires, explosions or other events of a nature to cause damage to installations, pipelines or tanks for water, fuel or chemical substances, to electric or telephone wiring or to other such; in the case in which such events have occurred, to take the steps prescribed by means of the orders and to immediately inform the proper parties;

h) In case of fires, to take the first steps to put them out and save persons and property, to notify the firefighting bodies and to inform the management of the socialist unit and the local body of the Ministry of the Interior;

i) To take the first steps to save persons and property in case of disasters;

j) To inform the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior in connection with any act of a nature to damage public property, and to assist them in fulfilling the missions that devolve upon them;

k) To be vigilant and to preserve state and official secrecy;

l) To wear while on duty the arms with which they are equipped and to keep them in perfect operating condition; to make use of a weapon only in the cases and under the conditions provided by law;

m) To wear a uniform while on duty or a distinctive insignia if they are not equipped with a uniform;

n) To perform, in relation to the specific character of the guarded facility or property, any other tasks that have been entrusted to them in accordance with the watch plan;

o) To carry out precisely the orders of their superiors and to be disciplined and respectful in relations on duty.

Article 38. The chief of the watch formation in the state and public socialist units also has, besides the duties mentioned in Article 37, the following obligations:

a) To organize, direct and supervise the watch activity and the manner of performance of duty by the subordinate personnel;

b) To immediately inform the head of the unit and the militia body about the events concerning the watch activity and to keep records of them;



- c) To propose to the management of the unit measures for improving the watch activity and introducing technical means of signaling and alerting, with a view to increasing the efficiency of the watch;
- d) To keep records of the arms and ammunition in the possession of the watch personnel and to concern himself with the preservation, maintenance, storage and use of them, in accordance with the law;
- e) To carry out the program for professional training specific to the subordinate watch personnel;
- f) To be an example of preparation, discipline and correctitude and to exhibit vigilance and steadiness under all circumstances.

The obligations mentioned in Paragraph 1 also devolve accordingly upon the person who performs the duties of the chief of the watch formation in the units to which Point 1 of Appendix 1 refers.

Article 39. The watch personnel, including the public watchmen, are equivalent, while performing the watch, to persons who hold a position that entails the exercise of state authority.

Article 40. The watch personnel of the state and public socialist units are entitled to a uniform and protective gear, under the conditions provided by law.

The conditions for granting the uniform and protective gear, and the description of, layout of and manner of wearing the uniform and insignia of the watch personnel, are those stipulated by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers.

Article 41. Rewards can be given to the persons with watch duties who, in the activity that they perform, exhibit abnegation and a spirit of sacrifice and make an important contribution to the protection of socialist property from thefts of any kind, fires, destruction or defacement.

Article 42. The rewards that can be given to the watch personnel are the following:

- a) Verbal or written thanks from the management bodies;
- b) Recognition at work;
- c) Inscription in the table of honor;
- d) Inscription in the book of honor;
- e) Recognition through publication in the press organ;
- f) The awarding of bonuses in conformity with the legal provisions;

g) The awarding of orders or medals of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

#### Chapter IX

#### The Duties of the Bodies of the Ministry of the Interior

Article 43. With a view to providing for the guard and security of the facilities and property, the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior have the following duties:

- a) They provide for the guard and security of the facilities and property with their own personnel, in accordance with the law;
- b) They participate directly in organizing the watch in the socialist units and pursue the precise execution of the measures set by means of the watch plans;
- c) In accordance with the jurisdictions set by law, they are responsible for selecting and screening the watch personnel; they recommend the hiring of them and withdraw the recommendation of the persons who no longer meet the conditions provided by law for performing watch duty;
- d) Together with the socialist units, they provide for the instruction, on military principles, of the persons in the watch of the state and public socialist units and the persons in the public watch;
- e) They provide for the supplying of military arms and the necessary ammunition to the state and public socialist units and for the instruction of the watch personnel armed with firearms;
- f) They oversee the way in which the socialist units comply with the legal provisions concerning the guarding of the facilities and property and determine--recording them in the sole register--the steps that are to be taken and the period in which they will be implemented by the head of the socialist unit;
- g) Together with the producing ministries, they set the priorities in designing and producing the technical means of guarding and alerting;
- h) They recommend the introduction into serial manufacture of the apparatus and other technical means of guarding and alerting and give specialized assistance for their placement;
- i) They analyze periodically, together with the ministries and other central bodies, the way in which the provisions of the law concerning the guarding of property are applied and determine measures for increasing the efficiency of the watch activity.

#### Chapter X

#### The Duties of the Ministries and the Other Central Bodies

Article 44. The ministries and other central bodies have the following duties concerning the guarding of the facilities and property:

- a) They coordinate, guide and oversee the activity of providing the watch at the subordinate socialist units;
- b) They take steps to supply the subordinate units with required technical apparatus for guarding and alerting and with gear for the watch personnel;
- c) They see that, in the design and execution of the structures of facilities, provision is made for achieving the technical setups necessary to the watch;
- d) They analyze in the collective leadership body, annually or whenever necessary, the activity of providing for the guarding of the facilities and property.

## Chapter XI Penalties

Article 45. Noncompliance with the provisions of the present decree entails, as the case may be, material, civil, disciplinary, contraventional or penal accountability.

Article 46. The nonfulfillment or the improper fulfillment, on purpose or out of fault, by the watch personnel, of the obligations that devolve upon them in accordance with the present decree constitutes, as the case may be, the infraction of abuse on duty against public interests or negligence on duty, if the conditions provided by penal law for these infractions are met and if the act does not constitute a more serious infraction.

Article 47. The following acts constitute contraventions of the standards regarding the watch, if they are not committed under such conditions that, according to penal law, they are considered infractions:

- a) The failure to draw up the watch plan and the failure to fulfill the tasks that devolve upon the state and public socialist units from this plan;
- b) The failure to take the steps to achieve and keep in operating condition the technical means of guarding and alerting or the means intended for the transportation of the values or property mentioned in Article 19, Letter e, Article 28, Paragraph 1, and Article 29;
- c) The failure to take the steps to accompany the person who transports sums of money or other values, in accordance with Article 30;
- d) The failure to take the steps established by the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior for eliminating the deficiencies found as a result of the supervision performed, in accordance with Article 43, Letter f;
- e) The hiring of watch personnel or the keeping of them on the job in violation of the provisions of Article 14 or of Article 15;
- f) The matter of being absent from watch duty without sound reasons or of being absent without giving notice of this in advance;

g) The nonfulfillment of the obligations mentioned in Article 17, Article 19, letters c, d, g and h, Article 20, Paragraph 2, and articles 22, 37 and 38.

The contraventions mentioned in letters a-e are punishable with a fine from 800 to 3,000 lei, with the penalty being applied to the person specially authorized to fulfill these obligations; if such an authorization was not given, the penalty is applied to the head of the state or public socialist unit.

The contraventions mentioned in letters f and g are punishable with a fine from 500 to 1,000 lei.

Article 48. The contraventions mentioned in Article 47 are ascertained by the officers and noncommissioned officers of the Ministry of the Interior and by mayors and their delegates. The ascertaining agent also applies the penalty.

Article 49. In the case of the contraventions mentioned in Article 47, letters f and g, the complaint is resolved by the head of the body of the Ministry of the Interior to which the officer or noncommissioned officer who ascertained the contravention belongs and, in the case of the reports drawn up by mayors or their delegates, by the executive committee or bureau of the people's council.

The complaint against the report on ascertaining one of the contraventions mentioned in Article 47, letters a-e, is resolved by the court in whose territorial range the act was committed.

Article 50. Insofar as the present decree does not prescribe otherwise, the provisions of Law No 32/1968 on the Establishment and Punishment of Contraventions apply to the contraventions mentioned in Article 47.

## Chapter XII Final and Transitional Provisions

Article 51. The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will take steps so that on the date that the present decree goes into effect the motorized watch corps cease their activity.

The manner of turning over and taking over the posts and the related pay fund, and the steps that are to be taken in connection with disbanding the motorized watch corps, are those provided in Appendix 2.\*

Article 52. The worker personnel who move from the motorized watch corps to the socialist units are considered transferred in the interest of service.

The personnel transferred in the interest of service or moved to positions with lower pay levels and the personnel becoming available as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree benefit from the provisions of Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the Setting of the Uniform Structural Standards for the Economic Units.

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\* The appendix is communicated to the institutions involved.

The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 do not apply to the posts to which the personnel becoming available through the cessation of the activity of the motorized watch corps are transferred in other units and to the posts within the socialist units needed for organizing their own watch.

Article 53. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance will submit for approval the changes that result from the application of the present decree in the plan and the structure of the income and expense budget.

Article 54. On the date of the disbanding of the motorized watch corps, the posts becoming available, stipulated in Appendix 3,\* are transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, for use in conformity with the regulations in this appendix.

Article 55. The guarding of the facilities and property belonging to the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior is provided in conformity with the regulations established for these ministries.

Article 56. Appendices 1-3 are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 57. The present decree goes into effect 60 days after publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA.

On the same date, Decree No 231/1974 on the Guarding of Property, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 9, 15 January 1975, Council of Ministers Decision No 1,649 of 23 December 1974 for Approving the Regulations of the Motorized Watch Corps, and other provisions contrary to the present decree are repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu,  
Chairman  
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 26 December 1983.  
No 477.

Appendix 1.

Criteria and Standards  
for Determining the Need for Watch Personnel in the State and Public Socialist  
Units

With a view to properly organizing the watch for the facilities and socialist property and rationally utilizing the watch personnel, the following criteria and standards will be taken into account:

I. Criteria

a) The nature and specific character of the facilities and socialist property that are to be guarded and the vulnerability that some units and places in

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\* The appendix is communicated to the institutions involved.

their precincts have from the viewpoint of robberies and thefts, explosions, fires and so on;

- b) The importance and value of the facilities and property;
- c) The location of the units;
- d) The size of the units;
- e) The setups and the degree of equipping with technical means (fences, lighted watchtowers, technical apparatus for guarding and alerting, and so on);
- f) The number of shifts in which the activity of the units is performed;
- g) The points of access to the unit;
- h) The possibilities of providing a joint watch for the facilities grouped in the same building or in separate buildings, with the same access.

Depending on these criteria and the number of watch personnel, the watch formations are constituted into the following categories: category 1, with over 80 posts for watch personnel; category 2, between 51-80 posts; category 3, between 25-50 posts. In the units at which the number of watch personnel is below 25, the head of the socialist unit is obligated to appoint, through a decision, the person who is to fulfill the duties that devolve upon the chief of the watch formation, with the advice of the county militia or that of the municipality of Bucharest.

The determination of the special facilities within the socialist units will be made in accordance with the criteria that will be drawn up by the Ministry of the Interior, with the advice of the Ministry of Labor.

## II. Standards

### 1. The watch at the access points:

- a) The access to a unit by persons and means of transportation, including management personnel, will usually be obtained only through a single access point (gate); at the big units where, due to the objective conditions, several access points are necessary, they will be established on the basis of an analysis made together with the specialized local bodies of the Ministry of the Interior;
- b) At the headquarters of the ministries, of the other central bodies and of other units, at most two access points will be set up, with one watchman being provided for each one during working hours. A single guarded access point will be provided, according to need, outside of working hours;
- c) If two or more units have a common access, a single watch post will be set up for the access of persons to the respective units.

## 2. The inside watch:

For guarding the vulnerable places in the precincts of the units--offices, sections, shops, aggregates or installations particularly important to the production process--determined by the management of the respective unit together with the specialized local bodies of the Ministry of the Interior, one watchman per shift will be provided for each watch post.

At the facilities within the perimeter of the units that must be guarded outside of working hours and on days off, watch posts will be provided only for this time.

## 3. The outside watch:

a) Depending on the concrete conditions of the facility (the lay of the land, the setups and the degree of equipping with technical means of guarding and alerting, and so on), one watchman per shift will be provided for each mobile watch post. The determination of the required number of posts is made by taking into account the possibility of providing suitable supervision of the area and the property entrusted for guarding and with a view to achieving prompt intervention in resolving the situations that require this measure;

b) In the case of the separation of two units by a common fence, if the respective portion needs to be guarded, the watch on the common portion will be provided by a single unit;

c) The units grouped in the same building or in separate buildings, with the same access, will organize a joint watch for them, providing one watchman per night shift, depending on the concrete conditions of the respective facilities and places;

d) At the small facilities (stores, warehouses, public food units and so on) at which a joint watch cannot be organized, setups like fences, gratings, shutters, secure locks, security lighting and other such, needed for ensuring their security, will be achieved.

## III. Other Elements That Must Be Taken into Account in Rationalizing the Watch

a) The introduction and expansion of technical means of guarding and alerting, with steps being taken to provide fences, gratings, shutters and secure locks, of security lighting, of field-fortification obstacles and of automatic devices for supervision of fixed points or areas;

b) At the points that must be guarded, found in the vicinity of workplaces where the activity is performed continually, the watch will be able to be provided by the specially authorized persons among the personnel who work in the immediate vicinity of these points;

c) In the case in which personnel who, by the nature of the job, are obligated to perform their official tasks after working hours and on days off (firemen, heating engineers, maintenance mechanics, fitters and so on) are at the

headquarters, watch personnel will not be provided for the respective periods, if the fulfillment of the watch obligations does not create a danger for the safety of the operation of the installations for which these personnel are responsible.

In the situation in which the concrete conditions of state and public socialist units differ from those provided in the present criteria and standards (such as, for example, the silvicultural, agricultural, viticultural, pomological, plant-growing and other units), the ministries and other central bodies involved will draw up and apply, with the advice of the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of the Interior, criteria and standards with a specific character, taking into account the principles established in the present appendix.

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## REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 10 Dec 83 pp 40-42

[Article by Dr Constantin Stroe: "Revolutionary Humanism and Full Development of the Personality in Romanian Socialist Society"]

[Text] In the present higher stage of socialist construction, wherein problems critical to Romania's destiny are arising, the militant revolutionary spirit must be promoted more and more in all activities. As defined in depth by the party general secretary in his speech at the Mangalia Working Conference on Organizational and Political-Educational Problems, the revolutionary spirit calls for amplification of the process of forming the new man with a high socialist awareness and indoctrinated in the spirit of revolutionary humanism and socialist ethics and justice.

In the CPR's view construction of the fully developed socialist society means formation and development not only of the objective social structures (modernization of the productive forces, improvement of social and production relations, etc.) but also of the subjective ones such as formation of the new man with a high revolutionary socialist awareness and a purposeful builder of the new order. Therefore the problems of the individual and humanism take a central place in the CPR's activity and in Nicolae Ceausescu's works.

### The CPR's View of the Necessity of Revolutionary Humanism

The concept of humanism denotes the conceptions which recognize the human being's dignity, worth and unlimited possibilities for improvement and which militate for free development of the personality. Humanism has had a different content in different periods and social systems and among different peoples, classes and thinkers, so that it has a pronounced historical and class character. Nicolae Ceausescu said on this subject that "The essence of revolutionary humanism, as contrasted with that of bourgeois humanism, which fosters the self-seeking instinct, individualism and the struggle for personal prosperity at the expense of one's neighbor's prosperity, lies in placing man in the center of all social effort and activity while establishing harmonious, integrated relations between the individual and society."

The superiority of socialist humanism lies mainly in its elimination of the abstract, contemplative, speculative and Utopian character of the old forms of humanism. It makes liberation and development of the personality conditional upon revolutionary social reform and abolition of any exploitation or oppression, and it is also characterized by an inseparable combination of the scientific element with the moral and ideological one.

In its entire policy (in the implementation of which the Ninth Party Congress was a real landmark) the CPR proves beyond a doubt that true humanism is no abstraction or mere theoretical question but primarily a real-life problem that can be solved only in actual social practice. This is graphically illustrated by the program documents approved by the 12th Party Congress concerning improvement of the living standard in the 1981-1985 period and further improvement of the quality of life. Drafted under Nicolae Ceausescu's direct supervision, those documents are intended to make the current five-year plan a new stage for raising the level of Romanian society's civilization, enhancing the entire people's welfare, and developing the personality more and more intensively.

In accordance with the CPR's general policy, the program-directive approved by the 12th Party Congress for raising the living standard and further improving the quality of life sets the guidelines for attaining the highest possible living standard and the best possible quality of life, including improvement of the social-political environment (requiring, among other things, improvement of production relations and social relations as a whole), unrestricted participation in public life and social management, increased workers' incomes, a shorter work week with pleasant and constructive use of spare time, better housing conditions, improved facilities for health care and better technical-municipal equipment for communities, environmental protection and maintenance of the ecological balance, enhancement of all workers' educational and cultural level, etc.

Accordingly revolutionary humanism is closely integrated in all areas of social existence, and it represents the central value of Romanian society because it functions as a unifying principle both in determining the socioeconomic and political objectives and in the field of culture, art and the political-ideological institutions and activities.

Revolutionary socialist humanism is manifested in establishing harmonious relations between the individual and the community, in securing social justice, and in making man the center of all social activity, and it has a number of characteristic features. In the first place it is an integral humanism, because it seeks to harmonize the values that contribute to full development of the personality, offering the latter equally broad access to professional, technical-scientific values as well as political-ideological, cultural-philosophical, literary-artistic and civic-moral ones. Therefore development of the personality calls for growth of its talents and creative abilities and its development as a producer of material and cultural values, as a social activist, and as a moral and cultured person with high ethical and aesthetic standards and a fine sense of responsibility for both his own actions and those of others.

Its realistic and practical nature is another distinctive feature of socialist humanism. It bases satisfaction of man's material and cultural needs upon development of the productive forces and improvement of production relations and of

all socioeconomic activity. The practical realism of the socialist humanism of the CPR appears in each and every worker's resolute labor and effort on behalf of construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward Communism, and it means that the CPR's policy is not just to promote the values that contribute to the individual's well-rounded personality but also to create the right means to actually achieve the human ideal, enabling everyone to fulfill himself according to his aspirations and society's needs. Humanism has acquired meanings in Romanian society that are important to practical activity, and it has become a means of action toward specific and vital purposes of man's emancipation. The practicality of socialist humanism accordingly concerns full satisfaction of man's constantly growing and diversified necessities of life, and it is not confined to scientific explanation of the human condition but primarily involves ways of fulfilling the human condition in socialism's dynamic evolution.

Socialist humanism is a revolutionary humanism because it proposes to eliminate any causes or conditions that impair the human being by means of its revolutionary reforms, changes and improvements, and also to create new social conditions enabling people to make better use of their creative abilities to make their own future and their own prosperity. In other words the humanism of Romanian socialist society places man on the first level of social activities. As an active militant for social progress, it is opposed to all that alienates man from his nature, any form of social oppression, and any racial, ethnic, national or other discrimination. It is in this spirit of revolutionary humanism that the party and state resolve the complex problems of human rights as well, guaranteeing the rights to work and education and fully equal rights to all workers regardless of nationality and, in general, providing for the realistic, practical solutions to all humanitarian problems.

Another characteristic of socialist humanism is its militant spirit, calling for a firm offensive against antihumanism and all that is harmful to man wherever it is, in ideology, politics, literature, art, philosophy or elsewhere. Revolutionary socialist humanism is also an optimistic humanism, promoting confidence in man and his potentials for accomplishment and development, as well as the conviction that he has unlimited possibilities for changing the world and himself.

Another characteristic of socialist humanism is its collectivist basis and the fact that every individual's all-around development is guaranteed by the united strength of the community and by his interdependence with his neighbors and the masses. In fact this too is the essence of socialist humanism as indicated in the CPR Program, according to which man is a social being in close contact and interdependence with his neighbors and the masses, and his personal happiness is achieved in the context of the entire people's happiness. In fact, as we know, while the systems based on exploitation have alienated and dehumanized people, socialist society creates the necessary background for humanizing relations among people and the social conditions for promoting collaboration among truly free and equal people united in their common interests and ideals. The workers' position as owners, producers and beneficiaries of all they accomplish is basic to all the other changes going on in the role and status of the individual in Romanian socialist society.

## Ways of Promoting Revolutionary Humanism

The documents of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference include a number of measures and courses of action for widespread promotion of revolutionary socialist humanism, which is an objective of paramount importance to construction of the fully developed socialist society.

In the first place, the party's decisions on development of the socialist national economy are noteworthy. They secure growth of the national income and consequently the conditions to meet the workers' material and cultural needs as fully as possible. Moreover the measures taken for regular improvement of the entire population's material and cultural living standard reflect the party's constant concern for better living conditions for the people and graphically illustrate the humanism of its policy. In this connection, the wage increase that began as of 1 September 1983 is further proof of the consistency with which the party carries out the major aim of "All for man and his happiness."

Modernization and rationalization of the economic structures are accompanied by steady improvement of the derived structures peculiar to the other subsystems of the social system, which can offer a broad field for expression of the initiative of the human personality, such as socialist awareness, the superstructure, etc.

The profound humanism of Romanian society is also unquestionably apparent in the efforts the party and state are initiating to improve the democratic system of Romanian society. For instance, at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion and under his direct guidance the CPR has made an intensive organizational effort to improve the social and institutional structure and to develop ways and means for all workers' increasing participation in management of political and public affairs and in the formulation and implementation of decisions on the most important problems of Romanian society. The institution and development of workers self-management, the direct participation of increasingly broad masses in formulating and adopting economic, political and social-cultural decisions, and the most intensive implementation of the principles of collective management by enhancing the functions of of the workers general assemblies and management councils, as well as the institutionalization of such national forums for discussion and decision as the national congresses and conferences on various activities are representative of the broad and unique structure of Romanian socialist democracy, which is applying the masses' experience and intelligence and stimulating the entire Romanian people's creative effort.

Humanism is reflected in the new relations among people and in the new attitude toward the individual. Romanian society has given great dignity to the individual by abolishing exploitation and discrimination of any kind among its members. Hence also the special emphasis the CPR places upon further improvement of social-human relations and consistent promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and justice.

Revolutionary humanism is also furthered by development of culture, education and science and by improvement of instruction and education and occupational training in general in order to enhance the intellectual life of all members of society. The extent to which culture is being developed under socialism and its generalization throughout society enable people to express their personalities as fully as possible as both creators and beneficiaries of the cultural

values. In Romanian society, the values of art, science and culture are becoming more and more the possessions of all categories of the nation's population.

Every citizen's growing self-assertion in society, the all-around fulfillment of the personality, and full use of the workers' talents, aptitudes and creative initiative epitomize the changes in Romanian society. Accordingly the fact that every member of Romanian society functions as an important decision-maker in adopting measures of vital importance to the fate of society and of every individual is a characteristic feature of the process of all-around development of the personality under socialism, and this means a virtual qualitative renovation of the human condition of the individual.

By redefining the directions in which the party and the entire Romanian people will act in the present stage of national development, the CPR Program and the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference integrate revolutionary humanism as a principle of action in the very concept of fully developed socialism. The implementation of revolutionary humanism is seen as a social process taking place inseparably from the other political objectives and options and reflecting the ultimate purpose of the CPR's entire activity, namely the formation of the fully developed personality in Romania.

#### Full Development of the Personality as the CPR's Major Aim

Socialist construction and the new conditions and social relations it is creating denote the development of a social climate that can stimulate the formation of fully developed personalities. The main consideration here is the fact that the personality is being fulfilled throughout all society and is becoming more and more a mass phenomenon. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We have always believed the historical mission of socialism is not only to free man from oppression and exploitation and to secure his material well-being, but also to create a higher moral civilization attainable only by forming a new man with a high awareness, cultural and occupational training, and an advanced moral-political outlook."

In the CPR's view the problem of formation and development of the personality arises and finds its theoretical and practical solution within the dialectical relationship of society to personality. The personality is integrated in many social structures on the objective basis of coordination of general with personal interests. This coincides with the process of socializing the individual in the sense of expanding his increasingly diversified roles. But integrating the personality does not mean merely increasing the number and variety of its social activities and roles but particularly a broader receptiveness and a closer approach of the personality to society through assimilation of more social-cultural values and of Romanian society's standards of behavior.

Differentiation of the personality in the forms of originality, specialization and special creative ability is associated with integration and in close dialectical unity with it. Socialist society does not standardize individuals. Due to equal opportunities for development, every member of it differs from the others in his distinctive traits, interests and capacities for assimilation and creation. Romanian socialist society creates the same social conditions for all its members, but it develops each one's aptitudes, talents, physical and mental

abilities, and creative powers in general in such a way that his place and role in society will be in keeping with his very own qualities, capacities and effort.

In Romanian society integration and differentiation are to a great extent purposeful actions based on a broad receptiveness to society. Accordingly the process of forming the personality in Romanian society with its two aspects of integration and differentiation takes place on a succession of levels through the individual's efforts combined with those of such institutions or groups as the family, schools, enterprise collectives, cultural institutions, the UTC /Union of Communist Youth/ and other party organizations, the army etc. They do the work of forming the new man, which provides for the formation and development of his personality along with his participation in social and various other political-ideological and cultural-educational activities.

Integration and differentiation do not result in standardization but, on the contrary, in the versatility of the personality. In socialist society formation and development of the personality necessarily requires constant expansion of professional, political, scientific and general cultural knowledge as well as more thorough mastery of the treasury of thought and experience and of the cultural values created by humanity throughout history. On the subject of characteristics of the process of forming and developing the personality in Romanian society, Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It must be entirely clear that we do not and cannot intend to standardize the individual. That would be an absurdity and nonsense. We are trying to form a humane man with a well-rounded education and a humane communist. We are trying to create the best conditions to enable the individual to fully express himself in all social activities, each with his own abilities, personality, and way of life, in the spirit common to all society of love of justice and truth, courage, honor, simplicity and the resolve to cooperate with his neighbors for his own happiness and the happiness of society as a whole."

The monolithic unity of Romanian society and its social, political and ideological homogeneity do not mean uniformity but purposeful and responsible loyalty and identification of the great variety of people and their personalities and individuality with the ideals of socialism and the party policy. The unity of Romanian society is a unity in diversity.

Since construction of the fully developed socialist society is the entire people's purposeful creation, every individual's development and assertion as a personality are regular requirements of the present stage of Romania's development. The decisive role of the masses in building the new order does not at all mean detracting from or ignoring the role of each individual as a component of the masses or neglect of the personality of any Romanian citizen. On the contrary, so far from being a depersonalization of the individual or a "personality crisis," as some western ideologists sometimes maintain in their libelous writings about the state of Romanian society, the widespread and active assertion of the masses in socialist society is vital to development of the personality and to generalization of that process throughout society. As it says in the CPR Program, the personality is not lost in the midst of the masses but develops more and more intensively along with the whole nation. In socialism the personality does not primarily mean the exceptional man (individual) but refers primarily to the development and fulfillment of all men on a social scale.

In the present stage of Romanian society's development it is more necessary than ever to fully coordinate the noble communist ideals the party is militating for with every worker's moral and political outlook. The fully developed personality is embodied by the new man, an active revolutionary militant for national progress and fulfillment of the great communist ideals.

Of course the process of creating such a human type has not been a spontaneous, automatic or direct one, but a vast political, ideological and cultural-educational party effort. To this end, a number of measures have been and are being undertaken to raise all workers' level of awareness and culture and to widen their horizon of knowledge. Among them we note those to improve schools of all levels, political-ideological and party education, the press and publishing, the effort to disseminate scientific knowledge among the masses, and cultural-educational work. The National Cintarea Romaniei Festival is playing an increasingly important part in this endeavor.

The new man has been and is born in the personality of the "humane communist," who embodies the values of socialist society in their evolution and sets an example for all others. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Mangalia Working Conference, the nature of the new man and of the fully developed personality includes high principles; a revolutionary spirit in thought and action; enthusiastic dedication to party policy; a high sense of responsibility, correctness, patriotism and international solidarity, dignity, justice, freedom, modesty, and diligence; an exemplary public and family life; concern for communist indoctrination of the young generation and collectivism; and sincerity, resolve, endurance, initiative, courage, etc.

Constant promotion of the revolutionary spirit is and has to be one of the characteristic traits of the man of Romanian society. Born of mastery of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception and the scientific, creative CPR policy, the revolutionary spirit calls for struggle and active commitment to overcome any difficulties and devotion of all energies to the cause of socialism and dedicated service to the people and the nation. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Mangalia Conference, "To be a revolutionary means to place the interests of the party and the people above all others and to set aside any personal interests."

To this end, the communist must assert his spirit of revolutionary militance against any deviations, abuses or violations of socialist morality, and he must encourage the progressive spirit of criticism and self-criticism by fighting against routine, complacency and reconciliation with bad situations. The revolutionary spirit means seeking new and effective solutions, love of work, order, discipline and responsibility, and high standards for one's own work as well as that of the collective. Accordingly the revolutionary spirit requires formation and development of lasting communist convictions and a broad political and ideological horizon.

In his entire activity the communist, the man imbued with a revolutionary spirit, must be an example to all other members of society. He must be distinguished by the energy, enthusiasm and dedication with which he fights for the party policy and display a high sense of responsibility in performing his tasks and particular concern for the protection and consolidation of public property. He must be a model of principled correctness and moral conduct in his professional

and public life and display an advanced attitude toward the family and the education of children and the young generation as well as respectable behavior in all his social activity.

Practical application of the principles of revolutionary socialist humanism is integrally connected with all-around development of the personality. And so by consistently promoting the individual's creative activity and the values of socialist ethics and justice, freedom, civilization and culture, and by constantly broadening the scope of the personality, the CPR is proving itself to be the tireless promoter in both theory and practice of the highest form of humanism, revolutionary humanism.

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## ROMANIA

### PARTY-STATE-WORKERS RELATIONSHIP DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 23, 10 Dec 83 pp 37-39

/Article by Dr Aurelian Cosmaschi and Dr Gheorghe Andreescu: "Dialectical Relationship of Party, State and Workers Democratic Bodies"/

/Text/ In a comprehensive approach to the many problems of the present stage of Romania's development, Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu analyzed in his report to the National Party Conference the main aspects of Romania's social-political activity and the relationships between the party, the state, and the workers democratic bodies, which are in a close dialectical relationship with the development of the material base and the other components of the superstructure, culture, science, education etc.

In the CPR's view, socialist construction requires the entire people's increasingly extensive participation in purposeful historical creation and in construction of the new socialist and communist civilization. On the basis of this view and the consideration that the new society is called upon to secure the broadest democratic rights and freedoms for the workers and their active participation in the nation's government and all its political activity, the party is taking consistent action to further improve the ways and means of organizing and managing society as a whole and to harmoniously combine the activities of the party, the state and the new bodies of the workers revolutionary democracy.

#### The System of Socialist Democracy in Romania

The results of socialist construction in Romania are indicative of the inherent unity of socialism and democracy. In its entirety and in its implications socialist democracy is inseparable from all the subsystems that characterize socialist society, namely development of the productive forces, promotion and improvement of socialist social relations, the new social structure, intensive development of science, culture and education, formation and development of workers socialist awareness and their active participation in social activity, etc.

The points in the party's program about the place and role of socialist democracy in Romanian society is based upon full understanding of the dialectical relationship between the strategic aims of building the new order and the increasingly pronounced development of the workers revolutionary democracy. As Nicolae

Ceausescu pointed out in his report to the National Party Conference, "We must proceed from the fact that socialism is the work of the masses, achieved with the people and for the people, and that socialist democracy is an objective necessity for the purposeful advancement of the masses in the management of all activities. We must demonstrate in practice the superiority of socialist democracy and of the masses' direct participation in social management."

The whole process of implementing, intensifying and improving socialist democracy, in close correlation with the general effort to build the socialist order, inevitably takes different forms in each socialist country and in each stage of the new society's evolution. In the light of the main requirements of the present stage of Romanian society's development, the CPR has created a unique, extensive and dynamic democratic system of workers revolutionary democracy that ensures harmonious collaboration between the party and state bodies and the new bodies and forms of democratic social management, between representative democracy and direct democracy, and between uniform management with local autonomy and the forms of workers self-management in all socioeconomic activities.

The system of Romanian socialist democracy, which is an original, composite and comprehensive framework for the people's participation in social management, is composed of the CPR, the vital center of the entire society; the workers revolutionary democratic state, with its central and local organizational systems and organs of state power and administration; the twofold party and state organs; the Democracy and Socialist Unity Front; the new democratic bodies institutionalized in the form of congresses organized for the main socioeconomic activities; the conferences on activities; and the workers self-management bodies and institutions, the workers councils and general assemblies, etc.

Of course the effectiveness of the organizational structures is not accomplished automatically, by their mere existence. An equally important aspect of the Romanian democratic system is its provision for the optimal operation of the organizational structures, which objectively depends upon a new quality of organization and management of the economy, science, culture, education and all activities. Optimal operation of the structures of Romanian socialist democracy can also secure the assumption of greater responsibility at work and in the entire social existence of all collectives and every worker. This capacity for enhancing the sense of discipline and responsibility for attainment of the aims of socioeconomic development is the basic element of full understanding of the nature of revolutionary workers democracy.

The point made by the party general secretary at the National Party Conference is of exceptional theoretical and practical importance to the optimal harmonious and efficient operation of the Romanian socialist democratic system, to the effect that a proper balance and correlation must be achieved between the democratic bodies and the state bodies, which are not opposed but must cooperate harmoniously to form the unified system of socialist democracy and of the socialist democratic state, the state of revolutionary workers democracy.

The harmonious combination and operation of all the elements making up the system of the workers revolutionary socialist democracy is a main requirement for Romanian politics and social progress according to the potentials of socialism and of the optimal operation of the whole social system.

The unity of socialist Romania's democratic system regularly follows from the unity of its whole social system, from its new economic, social and political structure from its increasingly profound social leveling, and from the social-political unity of its society, a unity of goals, ideals and intellect. Unity is an indispensable requirement for the balance of politics and its functioning, effectiveness, and superiority. Moreover the unity of the Romanian democratic system is both a requirement and a means of regularly resolving the contradictions in conformity with the nature and interests of socialism.

The indestructible unity of the socialist democratic system is not to be interpreted, however, in a simplistic fashion whereby its components are amalgamated, its particular characteristics lost, and the functions of some bodies are taken over by others. Its main feature is the optimal performance by each body of its own functions in accordance with the dynamism and effectiveness of the unified system of workers revolutionary socialist democracy.

#### Place and Role of the State in Workers Revolutionary Democracy

On the basis of the realities of Romanian socialist society and the requirements and distinctive features of its present stage of development, the CPR has evolved a clear, thoroughly scientific and innovating conception of the place and role of the state in the system of socialist democracy.

The CPR's role as the vital center of Romanian society also involves development of the role and functions of the state, whose mission it is to secure the uniform management of all socioeconomic activity of all sectors, the balance and harmonious development of society, and the fullest possible coordination of the productive forces with social relations. Defined by Nicolae Ceausescu as the supreme representative of the owners and producers and the organizer of the everyday life of the entire people and the whole nation, the Romanian socialist state is a state of workers revolutionary democracy performing its role as the main instrument of construction of the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism. No other social-political institution can replace it or take over its role or functions now because by its nature and its position in society the socialist state is the main instrument of the workers' power, expressing the sovereign will of their interests and securing the scientific and democratic management of all socioeconomic activity.

The socialist state does not stand immutable but undergoes extensive innovations in keeping with the changes and improvements in the socioeconomic structure of society. It has had an important part to play in society for a long time, and improvement of its activity must be a constant of the organization and management of the new society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In the long-range view, we can state that we must keep strengthening the state and its organs so that they can perform their organizing function in all areas of socioeconomic development, in providing peaceful work, in socialist construction, and in defense of national sovereignty and independence. Meanwhile we must keep expanding the forms of collaboration between the workers democratic bodies and the state organs, which supplement each other, lend an increasingly democratic character to Romanian socialist society, and secure the organized participation of all social categories in the nation's management."

In a comprehensive analysis of the changes that have taken place in the content, tasks and functions of the Romanian socialist state, the fact that it has come to represent all society, and its permanent integration in society, Nicolae Ceausescu again pointed out at the National Party Conference that the principle of dictatorship of the proletariat is unsuited to Romania and must be entirely abandoned, and he formulated the position that the nature of the Romanian state is correctly described by the designation of "state of workers revolutionary democracy," which sheds a new light on the development of Romanian society.

Of course the growth of the state's role does not mean any intensification of its coercive or administrative aspects, or state control of the social aspects, but intensified state activity in scientific and democratic social organization and management. The state of workers revolutionary democracy and its bodies, under the masses' constant control, are called upon to carry out the party's domestic and foreign policies. The qualitative changes in Romanian society have resulted in corresponding changes in the state's tasks and functions, with an increasingly intensive development of the functions of socioeconomic organization and management and construction of the new order.

The evolution of Romanian socialist society makes the function of national economic organization and management a very broad and comprehensive one, so that the party's view of the state's position in the system of relations of ownership of the production means represents a broad theoretical and practical beginning. The state functions as the general administrator of the entire people's property and not as the owner, in the legal sense, of the production means. As a representative of society, the state is responsible for the good management and organized implementation of socioeconomic development. It was on the basis of that responsibility that the pledge-contract was introduced between the state, as the entire people's general administrator, and the workers collectives of every enterprise, central and ministry. The management councils are responsible to the state and the workers general assemblies for the good management and entire activity of the respective units.

The functions of the Romanian socialist state form a single whole and, in addition to the state bodies, the other institutions making up the system of socialist democracy also contribute to their implementation.

The people's councils, which make up the system of local organs of the state power, play a particularly important part in the Romanian socialist state's activity. Like all social subsystems the people's councils have particular problems, as well as those common to the whole social system, which are peculiar to their political nature as true organs for self-management and self-supply of the territorial-administrative units. The people's councils provide for the citizens' extensive participation in direct management of county, municipal, city and communal activities. Nicolae Ceausescu said the people's councils' strength depends on further consolidation of their ties with the masses, extensive consultation of the latter, and their ability to stimulate the workers' initiative. They have highly important functions in drafting the regional plans and the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development, in developing localities, in applying the program for urban and rural systematization, and in enforcing the national laws and party and state decisions.

## Growing Role of Workers Self-Management Bodies

Workers self-management is an essential component of Romanian socialist democracy providing real ways for workers to take part directly and regardless of nationality in management of the socioeconomic, cultural-scientific and educational units and of the state and all society. It is a higher stage of socialist democracy as well as a form of cooperation between the state organs and the workers democratic bodies. It provides both for workers control over state activity and for the workers councils' responsibility to the workers and the state for efficient management and the entire performance of the respective units.

Socialist democracy is directly and more and more effectively involving the critical sector of social activity, production of material goods, in its continuous development and growth. Socialism in Romania provides for the workers' real participation in managing the economy because they are actually collective owners of the production means and producers and beneficiaries of the goods produced. In this connection, the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee of 29-30 June 1983 drafted a number of measures for firm application of the principles of workers self-management and self-administration, improvement of the economic-financial mechanism and wage system, and greater responsibility for the workers general assemblies and councils as collective management organs.

The purpose of the workers self-management system is to base all socioeconomic activity on the principles of profitability and maximum efficiency, and expansion of the overall contract system as a main way of organizing productive activity contributes to that end. This series of measures develops workers democracy more intensively while strengthening order, discipline and the sense of responsibility.

In Romanian society self-management, self-administration and self-supply also apply to the territorial-administrative units, which are to provide for their self-financing and self-supply and improve their performance to meet the requirements and standards of the present stage of socialist Romania's development with an eye to communist construction. To this end the Plenum of the CPR Central Committee in November 1983 approved a number of operational programs to improve all activity, with special emphasis on steady growth of labor productivity, improvement of product quality and organization and standardization of labor, reduced consumption and better use of raw materials, fuel and energy, and application of self-management and self-supply measures, making new demands upon the democratic bodies, workers self-management and the territorial-administrative units.

## The CPR as Political Leader of the State and Democratic Bodies

The CPR is the center of the democratic political system of Romanian society, and questions of development of its leadership are of particular theoretical and practical importance to the nation's accelerated economic progress, improvement of social relations, development of education, science and culture, promotion of a new quality in all social activity, the efficiency of the state mechanism, and development of the role and significance of the workers revolutionary democratic bodies.

Like an inexorable law, the dialectical relationship between the party, the state and the workers democratic bodies demands development of the CPR's leadership in Romanian society. The party formulates its political policy and adopts decisions

on the basis of a regular dialogue with the working masses, who see in that policy the embodiment of their aspirations to progress, civilization and material and cultural welfare.

Romania is now confronted with vitally important tasks set by the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, which drafted clear programs and decisions as well as a scientific, realistic and correct general policy for all fields. From the standpoint of the relationship of the party, state and workers democratic bodies, intensified efforts to improve the performance of the party organs and organizations is an urgent requirement. In the present stage their organizational, political and educational work is critical, and implementation of the decisions and programs for socioeconomic development, improvement of working methods and facilities, and greater responsibility of party members are central to it.

A party that bases its entire activity on the historical and dialectical materialist conception must be capable of providing the best answers to the demands of life at any time. Therefore development of the party's leadership calls for improvement of the organizational and managerial work of all party and state organs. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the CPR Central Committee in June 1982, "The party organs are not to replace the state organs. On the contrary, they are to make every effort toward consolidation of the state's role and the efficiency of its bodies from top to bottom. The party activists and communists working in the state organs are responsible to the law and the Romanian people for their actions. As activists and communists, they must also always account to the party for their actions and always be under the party's control. All and all they are not mutually exclusive but interact dialectically."

First of all, this objective requires sound organization of the effort to know and best implement decisions, laws and all operational plans and programs, and that requires study and mastery of all decisions and laws of the land by all party and state organs and the workers democratic bodies, since socialism cannot be achieved by disregarding the state's laws expressing the will of the people and the new socialist social relations. As the party general secretary pointed out at the Mangalia Working Conference, if the party's leadership is to be developed, the work must be organized so that no sector, activity or problem will be overlooked by the party and state organs or the democratic bodies.

Assignment of specific tasks to each activist and party member enables the party organs and organizations to grasp the realities of the economic, research, educational, cultural and administrative units. Party leadership acquires better qualities only through the exemplary and disciplined performance of every party member. Hence the necessity of developing the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and strongly opposing any instances of complacency, slackening of standards, or resorting to "justifications" of failure to perform tasks.

The great problems of Romania's socioeconomic development and the party organs' and organizations' role as the vital, galvanizing center of all activity call for constant promotion of the militant revolutionary spirit in the activity of the party organs and organizations and all party members, provision for the harmonious operation of all sectors of activity, proper distribution of personnel among

all sectors, better use of the strong corps of party activists, and improvement of the professional, technical and scientific knowledge of party members, activists, and party and state personnel.

The problems of the dialectical relationship between the party, the state and the workers democratic bodies bring out vital points about the evolution of the political system of Romanian society in the present stage of Socialist Romania's development. As far-reaching and highly dynamic processes, these relationships will naturally acquire new dimensions in the advance toward communism that will require new approaches based on the acquired experience and in keeping with the growing demands of the nation's all-around progress.

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